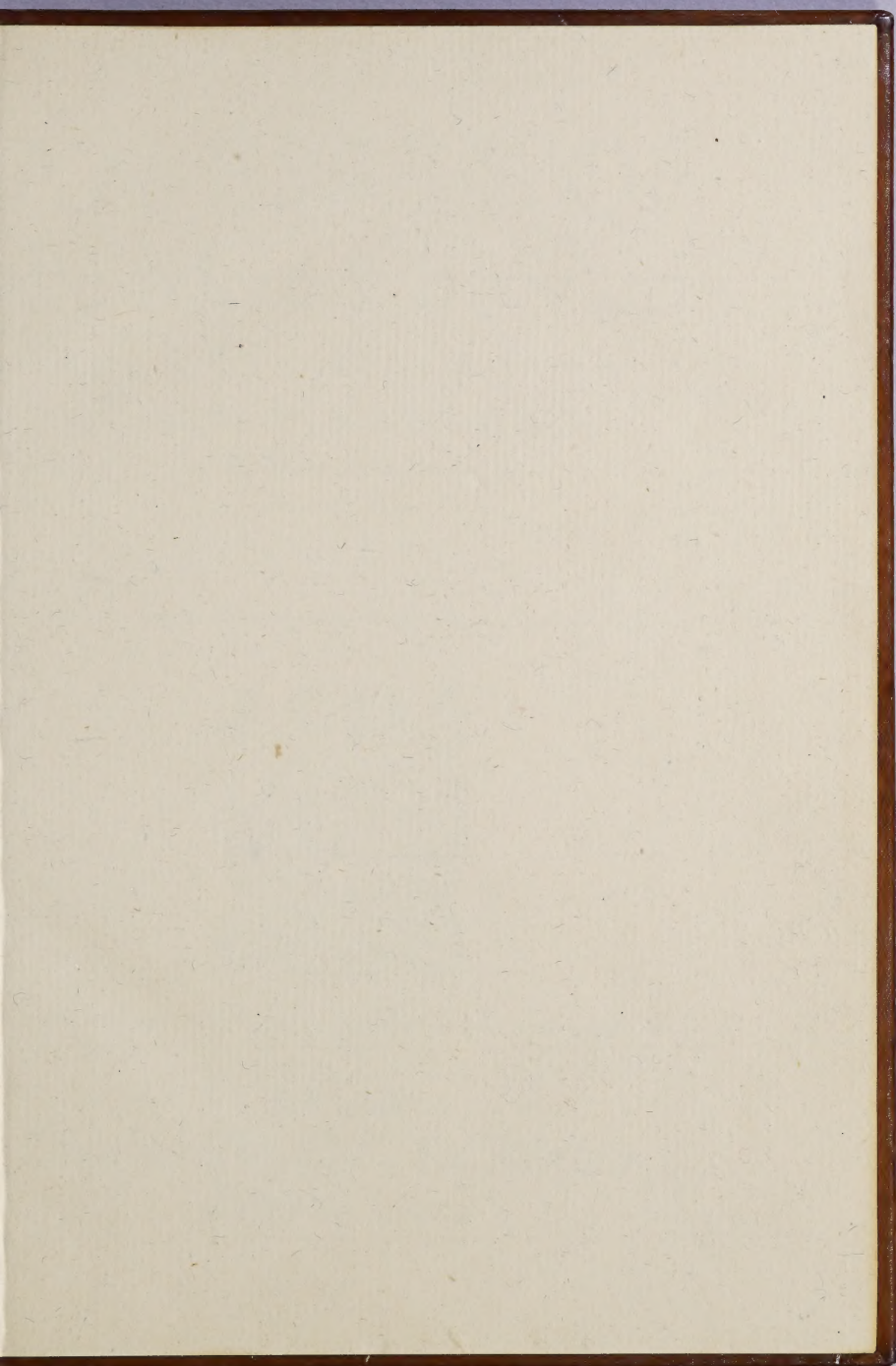


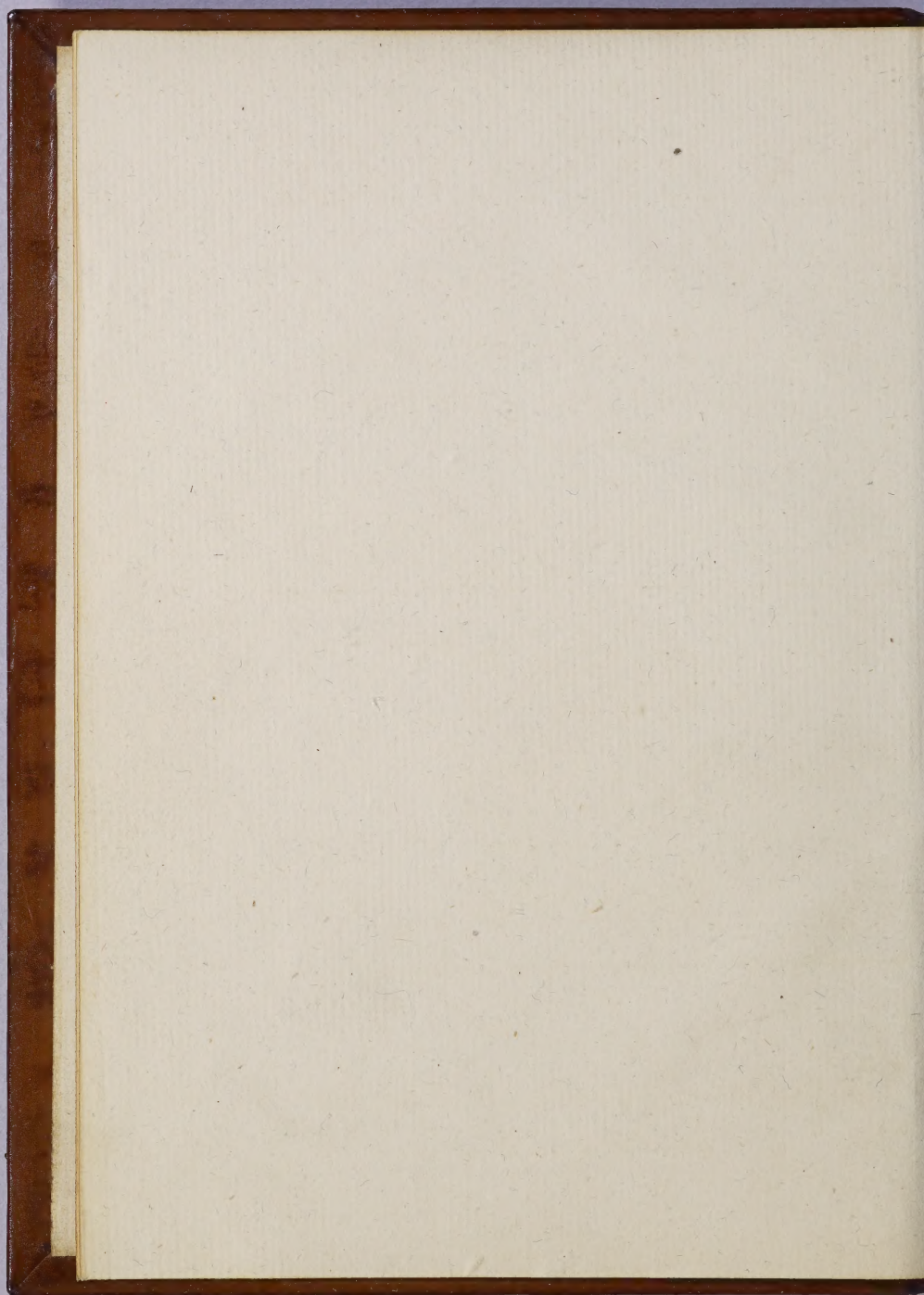
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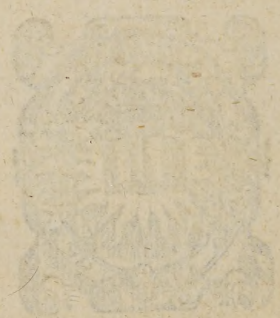
AN ESSAY OF
the Meanes howv to
make our Trauailes, into forraine
Countries, the more pro-
fitable and ho-
nourable.



At London
Imprinted, by H. L. for Mathew
Lownes. 1606.

AN ESSAY OF
the Means how to

make our Transfers into foreign
Countries, the more pro-
fitable and ho-
nourable.



APICE

Printed by H. A. for Mather
London. 1706.



TO THE MOST

Excellent, Illustrious, and vertuous
Prince, HENRIE, eldest Sonne to our Soueraigne

Lord the King, and Heire apparant to the King-

domes of *Great Britaine, &c.*

(***)



Considering with what libertie and
Applause, Princes, in times past,
vndertook voluntarie trauaile &
aduentures into forraine parts:
and how of latter dayes those
Illustrious Stemmes of noble-

nesse (I know not now by what custome restrai-
ned of that recreation and renowne) haue not
withstanding improued their pretious times at
home vnto no lesse rent of commoditie & com-
mendablenes, by suffering themselues to be tray-
ned vp and delighted in the faculties and know-
ledge of diuine and humane things: I haue pre-
sumed (most excellent and gracious Prince) hum-
bly to prefer, vnto your rare protectiō and view,

The Epistle

this Essay, of the means how to make the trauailes of other men (who for the good of this kingdom wherein they liue so happily, their better seruice to his Maiestie, and making of themselues more Compleat in all things, haue faire libertie & desire to aduenture trauaile) somewhat more profitable and honorable, not only before trauaile, but in the *interim* of trauaile, and after their returnes. First, because your highnesse is (in all happie possibilitie) to be a most noble Iudge of all mens deserts in this point, rather then to make experience your selfe therein, vnlesse in Martial causes: wherein I know not whether I may account your royall Auncestors (Princes of this State) to bee more happie alwaies in their good successe, or in the faithfulnessse of their voluntarie great traines. Secondly, for that the people of great *Britaine* (of all other famous and glorious Nations separated from the maine Continent of the world) are by so much the more interessed to become Trauailers, by how much the necessitie of euerie seuerall estate of men doth require that, for their better aduancement. Lastly, in regard this subiect hath not worne an English habite hertofore, (from the custom dew to Princes in the Novelty of things) I thought it my dutie (vnder the compasse of my obligation and seruice vnto your Highnesse) to make a present hereof (although but meanly apparellled and suited) and in most humble wise to beseech

Dedicatorie.

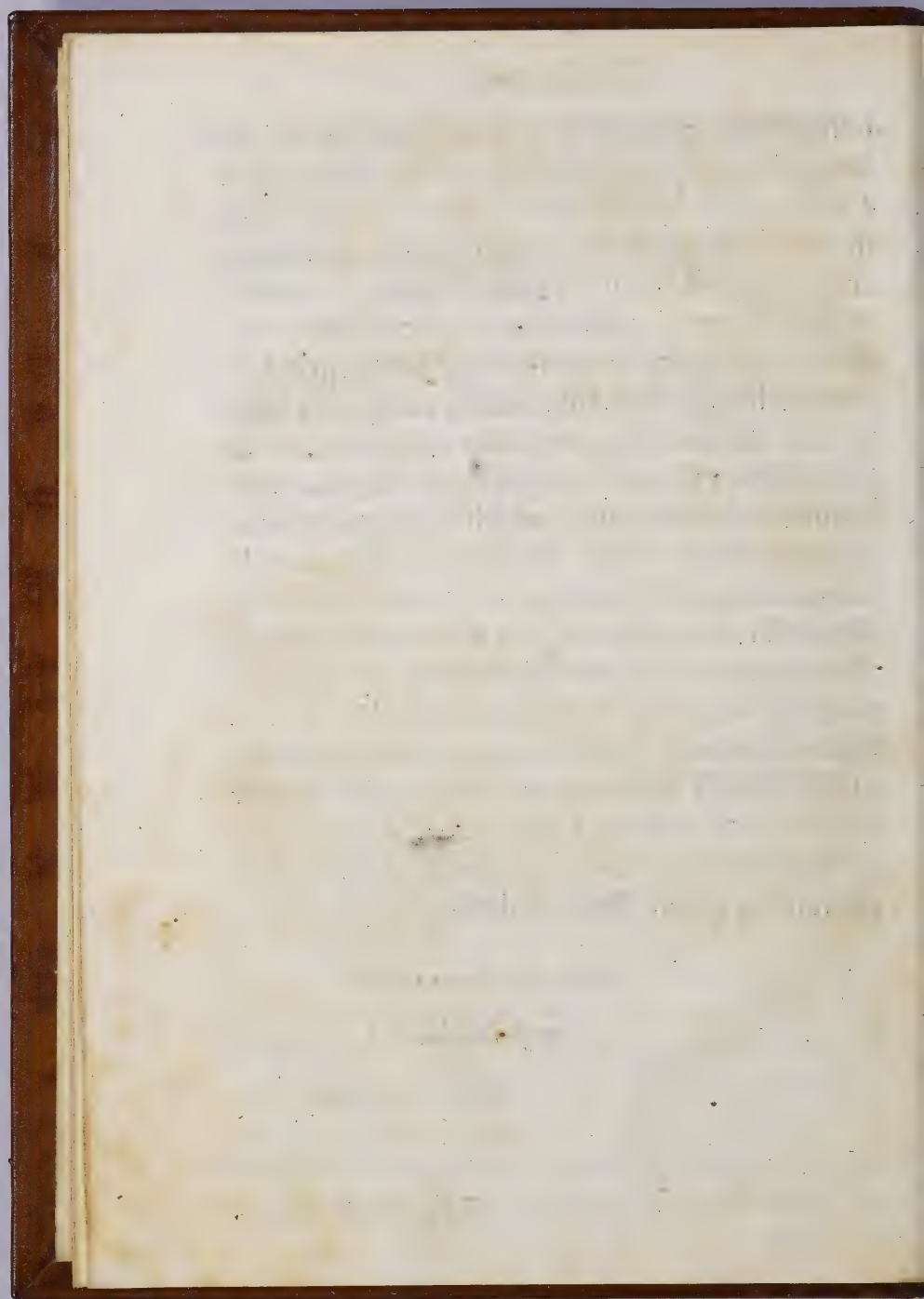
beseech the greatnesse of your Excellencie, to fauour & patronize the same. Which gratioufnes I must euer acknowledge (sir) to proceede from the cleare fountain of your generous, ingenuous, and princely disposition vnto all bountie, goodnesse and vertue: and the world alreadie knowes, that your singular towardlines, to euerie good & perfect thing, is such, that neither can it or is likely to be paralleled of any in the world (so long as your Highnesse continewes in these religious vertuous & studious paths, which God graunt) nor circumscribed within the Kings most Ample kingdomes, and States, but is knowen, feared, or admired in forrain parts. The which as it is a most Soueraigne and inexpressible blessing vnto all, of these his Maiesties Dominions: So, vnto mee, it shal be the onely studie & care to make expressiō of all dutifull alleageance: And in the meane seasō to pray vnto God cōtinually for your highnesse, to continue for euer in health, felicitie and euerlasting glorie, And rest during life

Your HIGHNESSE

most humble and

devoted Seruant,

THOMAS PALMER.





To the Reader.



*H*aving framed this discourse long since for mine owne aduertisement, what might and ought to be done by Trauaile; and now considering the manifold errors and misprisions, that the greater sort of such as trauaile into forraigne Countries, haue heretofore committed (because these dayes wherein we now liue

are no lesse disordered, then when pilgrimages were on foote) and how few haue arrined vnto that perfectio which was requirable, for the want of a Guide or Counsellor, to aduise & aduertise them of the fairer and more readie way, to make their trauailes somewhat more profitable and honorable: I haue been encouraged (worthy Reader) vpon the vertue of the yonger sort of such noble gentlemen as intend so recomendable a course, to prepare and aduise the same, by way of Essay; the rather also for that, in other languages, I haue suruayed some of like proiect, for other Nations, who I am sure stand not more in neede then wee in this State doe. Protesting (as in the inferiornesse of the stile may well appeare, that neither vanitie of glorie, nor selfe presumption (being of many the most unworthie to haue enterprised this taske) nor other primate respect then dutie to my good friends (that haue requested this at my hands) and Zeale to my louing Countriemen, hath made me publish it. For, considering of all voluntarie Commendable actions, that of Trauailing into forraigne States (undertaken and performed Regularly) is the most behoueable & to be regarded in this Common-weale, both for the publike and primate good thereof, singularly also for that the same is not undergone with ordinarie charge, care, hazard, or taking of paines, but of most vncertaine issue and commoditie to Trauailers; It seemeth vnto mee (vernuous Reader) a faire dutie (where other worthie men haue beene so long silent, in giuing a perfect rule for Trauailing, as it is in vse at this day) to begin the heaving out of one, that by some master workeman, it may hereafter be better planed, formed, and tried.

Moreover

To the Reader,

Moreover, I thought good, for the informatiō of some Readers, to uncover my intent in sundrie points therein cōtained. And first, that whereas diuers other sortes of Trauailers are mentioned the those Generall Voluntaries, (for whom this discourse was framed) they are honoris gratia, & obiter Salutati; and rather by way of order, then worthie to receiue direction, mentioned. Secondly, that whereas by the sound of some words, some people and Nations may thinke they be taxed in certaine points, notwithstanding therein I may say, *Nihil iam quod non prius ab omnibus dictum fuit*: yet I trust, the honest Reader will perceiue my meaning to bend rather to the rectifying, then preiudicing of any. Thirdly, where any point is obserued by way of secreat or policie, that no other Constrution be made thereof, then the literall, to ensample and aduance knowledge. Fourthly, that considering for the priuate respect of the most vncexpert, more Minute Subdiuisions and points are cōtained, then peradventure will rellish with the taste of some; that such will take for their better stomacke the benefit of those Marginall notes, which for their sakes I haue set downe. Lastly, seeing not only we here in England may, as all other Nations in the world doe, account it a shame that there should be so many and such fugitiues (unworthie of the honourable name of Trauailers) as this Land hath afforded hertofore, who haue not afterwards made conscience of their owne wayes nor of others, but like the most pernitious haue communicated with all euill and mischiefe in their trauailes, to subiect their own Countre, Princes, State, Parents, friends and all that is held deare in this life; let me discover so much of my secretest affections vnto thee (discreet Reader) that the preuenting hereof, was one of the first mo-
tines to vndertake this worke. And so I heartily pray to God to make thee happie in all vertue and godlinesse, and to set to thy helping hand, as much as in thee lyeth, to encounter that imputation to our Countre: leaning vnto thy discrete iudgement, moreover, these Tables which are here abstracted for the ease and aide of mens memories. And so I bid thee farewell. From Wingham, the first of Iulie. 1606.

Tho. Pal.



The first Part.

Trauailling is equiuocable, *Regular* or *Irregular*. Of *Irregular* tra-
 uelling, most men finde by experi-
 ence what it is. The *Regular* is
 an honorable or honest action of
 men (and in speciall cases of wo-
 men) into forreine Countries and
 States, chiefly for a publike good to that Countrie of
 which such are, and also for a priuate benefit and neces-
 sitie in cases necessarie and of commendableness. In
 like sort there are deriued, from this action of trauel-
 ling, two orders of Trauellers, *Regular*, and *Irregular*.
 The *Regular* are threefold; *Non voluntarie*, *Inuolun-*
tarie, or *Voluntarie*. Of whome foure things may bee
 considered. First what ought to be the moouing cau-
 ses of mens trauell. Secondly, what courses such as are
 iustly mooued must vndertake before trauell, if they will
 benefit their Countrie, or themselves. Thirdly, how they
 ought to spend their times in the *interim* of trauell.
 B Lastly,

Trauailling
duple.

Regular traui-
ling.

Two orders of
Trauaylers.

Regular Tra-
uailers triple.
Foure things
of Trauailers
observed.

Lastly, what commendable carriages and behaiour such are to expresse at their returnes, to the further honour of themselues, good of the State, and glorie of God.

Two moouing
causes: efficient
and finall.

The first of these according to the ancient diuision of Causes hath fowre head mouers; but it may be impertinent to intreat of aboute two, at this present, namely of the efficient and finall. For, the formall esteemed causes (which are pedestriall, equestriall, or nauticall) stand either at the disposition of the efficient; or pretend perfection and vse from the finall. In like manner the materiall causes which pertaine either to the bodie or the minde, though in subiect they differ not alwayes, yet in consideration of the places and the things in them contained, being obiects to be respected, may either depende vpon the pleasure of the efficient, or from the finall draw their motion and contentation.

Three efficiēts
secondary of
Trauailers.

There are only three iust efficiēts (next vnder God, which is the efficient of all good things in a secret manner) that ought to stirre vp men to trauell from their Countrie (which as a parent tyeth all in dуетie to respect it before forreine parts: and wherein euerie one ought to leade his life godly and soberly, to aduance the Common-weale thereof.) Those are first the pleasure of the Prince, or State, or Law vnder which men liue. The second in number, though in order preferable aboute all things in the world, is the maintenance and exercise of true Religion and Godlineffe. The third is a godly thought to do good in the Church and Common-weale, grounded either vpon probable reason, or vndertaken for priuate necessitie and respect. Seeing the two former belong either to *Non voluntarie*

The Princes
pleasure,

The mainte-
nance of Reli-
gion.
The hope to
do good in the
Church and
Common-
weale.

or

or *Inuoluntarie* trauellers, it shall bee the more sparingly discoursed of them; in regarde the *Voluntarie* are the true subiects of our point in hand.

The Persons, first occasioned to trauell by the Princes or States fauour, are either men of peace, or men of warre. Those of peace are either honorable or not, according to the circumstances of places, persons and times to whom and in what times they are sent. The honorable be either Embassadors, Commissioners, or Messengers with or without credence. The not honorable be Postes and such like Currers necessarie in States to aduertise Princes speedily concerning their mindes, or such as goe vnder the name of Intelligencers.

Non Voluntaries double.

Honorable *Non Voluntaries*,
Non Voluntaries not honorable.

As concerning the honorable, though the prouidence of euerie Prince or State make election of meete personages to vndergoe such charge as is committed vnto them; and are euer well instructed concerning principall matters and momentall: yet for other mens observations, there are five circumstances required of these principall Trauellers, to bee considered. First, from whom such are sent. Secondly, to whome and to what gouvernement. Thirdly, what is their Embassage in speciall. Fourthly, what they themselues are, so chosen to vndergoe the office of Embassadors, of Commissioners or Messengers. And fifthly, that the States of those Countreies & fashion of the people, as well from whence as vnto which they are sent, be pondered at the time of their legation: which shall enable the more to be answerable in all points of consequence; that the Prince sending may be completely serued & honored; that the State or Prince, to whome, may accordingly admire and haue the

Five circumstances required of the honorable *Non Voluntaries*.

Vertues and
faculties, requi-
red in Amba-
ssadours.

Embassage and them in recommendation, that the Embassage may take best effect. And lastly, that no reproche chance vnto them either concerning their traines or themselves, but contrariwise commendation & reward. Moreouer it is required of such that they be eloquent, to obtaine and effect that which they plead for in negotiations: prudent in accusing, excusing, demanding, denying, and such like politicke affaires: liberall, honest, humane, popular, but with respect, ciuile in words and ceremonies, faithfull about all, carefull to dispatch affaires, and painefull to ripen and prepare them, and lastly obseruant in forreine affaires to get intelligēce. These may be sufficient at this present.

Postes.

Intelligencers.

As touching the not honorable, though wee might be also silent & passe the ouer for the realō aforelaid, yet let these things be remembred. First, that Postes, whether mediāly, or immediatly, be speedy and faithfull to put in execution things committed to their charge. Secondly, as concerning Intelligencers and Referendaries, being persons of notable esteeme to support the policie of the Estate by the knowledge of the secrets of forreine powers and daily occurrences that chaunce in them. Wherby Princes may shew all offices vnto their friends and confederates, and be sufficiently armed with knowledge to resist the malice of their enemies or encounter such as are held in ieaiousie.

Pointes requi-
red in Intelli-
gencers.

These are sent out by the mediation of the Councell in most States, or by some of the principall. Of these Intelligencers it is required, first before their vndergoing so dangerous an actiō, To speak singularly the tongues, that may stand them in stead in that Countrey out of which they must gather intelligence, and to imitate the
common

common gestures and behaiour of those nations, to cloke their purposes the more artificially. Also to bee well accomodated of things needefull for their enterprises: the which being variable and changeable according to the alteration of States and times haue no certaine rules. Only this, that such may safest trauell vnder the shewes of those people which that State wherein such must traue'l to get intelligence hath the least ielousie of, and are in good friendshippe. Lastly, to keepe the order and manner of their enterprife so secret, as that those which send out such shall not know the plot of all things if so be the same be deuised by the Intelligencers themselves, which is euer least dangerous. Moreouer it is required of such to enure themselves to endure the accidentes of Sea or Land; as stormes, heate, colde, excessse of meates and drinckes, sickenesse, much riotte of speech, simplicitie and such like. And in a word whether abroad, or at home, let such be carefull they be not di'couered for Intelligencers or had in ouermuch ielousie, but so warily demean themselves that they may aswell secure their own persons as benefite the State by their intelligence.

There is an other kinde of Intelligencers, (but base in respect of the former, by reason they assume a libertie to say what they list) who are inquisitors or diuers into the behaiours and affections of men belonging to a State, the carriages of whom are verie insupportable; oftentimes exercising any libertie and licentiousnesse to prye into the hearts of men to know how such stand affected. But being also necessarie euils in a State, I would counsaile such as vnhappy shall haue to deale with this packe of *Muches* not so fauourable to suffer

Base Intelligencers,

them to raile vpon the Nobilitie of this Land and discover faults in the State, to blaspHEME and dishonor the Maiestie of God and of their Prince, but rather to coniure such so, as neuer afterwarde they shall delight in that humorouS-carnall-tempting and diuellish profession.

Men of warre. The other sort, which likewise by the Princes or States fauour are made Trauellers, are men of warre or souldiers, serueng on the Land or Sea; whether these be sent to serue vnder other Princes or haue authority committed vnto them to make warre themselves. Now considering these are either Commanders or common Souldiers, there ought to be a distinct consideration. As touching the first, though wee might considerately enough leaue them out heere, being men of action and experiēce, yet we obserue three general offices of these: First, ere they vndertake their iournie, to be accomodated with euerie thing necessarie, both for men, munitiō, victuals and monie, which being the sinewes of euerie enterprise shall preuaile greatly. And in case that any be sent to serue vnder other Princes, it is a thing most requirable, for the honour of their Prince and Country and of themselves, to be much curious that euerie souldier be seemely apparelled, and orderly sorted with men and armes, and other things necessarie, and to be faithfull vnto their Soueraigne. Secondly, let euery one take heede hee goe not beyond his Commission, but rather in case of his absolute authoritie streighten his owne power, neuer presuming vpon the fauour of the Prince or State that sendeth such an one forth. For though the same sometimes may sort to a happie end, yet the encroching on the prerogatiue royall is repro-
uable,

Three general
offices of men
of warre.
To be prouident
and faithfull.

Not to exceed
Commission.

uable, and without reward, though so aduantageous for ones Prince, and Countrie. And as it is the cheefest point of a Commaunder to obserue good discipline to aduance euerie enterprife and designe: so especially in case of seruing vnder forreine Princes and powers, let such be blamelesse and irreprouable: accomplishing moreouer with resolution and discretion whatsoever is committed to the charge of such, nothing attempting vpon discretion without commaundement of the Prince himselfe vnder whom such serue. And that such be not lauish in rewarding with honour, or too seuer in punishing offenders beyond the discipline then exercised. The third and last consisteth in the making true and diligent relation of euerie accident, vnto the Prince to whome such belong. Wee shall not neede to dilate on these, they are so common. Nowe as concerning the common souldier in this place of *Non Voluntarie* trauellers, let it only be exacted of him, To be obedient to the discipline prescribed vnto him, to esteeme of his armes as the cognisance of a souldier; and neuer to be tainted with mutinie or murmuring: For such do debarre themselues euermore afterwarde of beating armes, or of the reputation of Souldiers, though such may pretend great cause. Of other things let it be sought for in the voluntarie Trauellers.

To make true
and diligent
relation.

It nowe remaines wee touch vpon those that Inuoluntarily are made Trauailers, by the displeasure conceaued by the Prince, and by offence committed against the law. Those that haue trespassed against the lawe, although in other States in times past they were great personages, as others that lay open to such

Inuoluntaries
vpon displea-
sure.

Banished persons of two sorts.

Their offices in trauaile.

such punishments, yet here in England are men of no accompt or reckening: such as being incorrigible persons, good for nothing, euill members, are for euer made proscrip̄ts, and turned from the tuition of their naturall friends and Countrey, to liue as runnagates in the wide world. But as concerning such as stand banished by displeasure and prerogatiue royal of the Prince, they are of two sorts. The first of such are onely for breach of Lawes in Court banished from the Court, and confined to approche no neerer than so many miles, for a certaine space: these are not to our purpose. The other is of such as the Prince vppon iust indignation banisheth the Land for a time certaine or not; wherby such are forced to trauell, and are of the Gentry or Nobilitie alwayes, of whom the Prince hath a greater respect, then of the Commons that sustaine all punishments in their times according to the Lawes. Of whome these Offices are exacted; First, not to make shew of discontentednesse other then sorrow for the offence done. Secondly, to depart the Land, within the time limited. Thirdly, not to trauaile into their Princes enemies Countreies, or into the Countreies of miscreants & Infidels, there to make their aboade; (for the one is a breach of Religion, the other of alleageaunce and duetie to their Prince, Soueraigne and Countrey: which yet remaine to such so, during life) either for that they may obtaine fauour to be recalled, or by decease of the Prince that banished them in speciall cases of displeasure be freed to returne from banishment: the benefite whereof they may peraduenture lose if such shal be obserued to spend their times in the enemies Countrey or keepe much familiaritie with them. So is it to those that trauaile to
Pagans

Pagans and Infidels, who although they may be friends with their Prince, yet the office of banished traouellers carrying the badge of Gods displeasure also vpon them may not doe euerie thing that the policie of an Estate shall permit: but in particular let them carrie themselves so, as God their high Prince, who hath a more speciall hand ouer such then ordinarie may be serued also and appeased by obeyfance to his word, which restraineth all from voluntary fellowshippe with vnbeleeuers and vngodly persons; much more to haue such a communitie with them as being left to their choice they seeke rather after such then the godly, & as it were indenizen themselves into their life, Religion and conuersation. Lastly, that wherefoeuer these shall remaine, let them carrie themselves so discreetly during their perigrination, that they may procure themselves to regaine their Princes fauour to restore them. And also when such shall so fortunately be recalled, to behaue themselves like newe creatures and subiects, abandoning all reprobable actions that draw downe sodainely GODS displeasure, & consequently the like or greater iudgements. Thus briefly may we conclude the first ranke of *Regular* and lawfull Trauailers. The second followeth.

2 Which are also of the Crue of Inuoluntaries: Such as trauaile for Religion and conscience sake. being moued to trauell for the maintenance only and preferuation of their Religion, which vppon assured grounds they know to be the true and only sauing profession whereby they serue God aright according to his word, and prepare themselves for a more diuine & excellent mansion then can be found or conceived heere on earth: the which thing may, of all other things in the world held in estimation, prescribe against and

In what cases
their trauaile
is warrantable.

free them from the opposition of lawes humane, and their allegiance; in such sort that whether men trauell without commission or licence of the Prince and State to whom they belong, or whether contrarie to the expresse cōmandemēt of the State, their callings are iustificable & honorable without the titles of fugitiues or rebels; so such demeane themselves, in sort according to godlines, & as good subiects, before they put themselves to trauel, & during their perigrination. For if it be generally held that faith is to be perswaded not compelled; & that no man hath power of Religiō, seeing that it proceedes from the minde and will, the libertie whereof resteth in the hands of God only, to dispose of: then of all men those are most free that ground their Religion vpon the word of God, which only is able to enfranchise and giue an assured hope of standing, vnto the sincere professors thereof; making mens actions holy and warrantable euerie where. Hence, the subiects of a nation that persecuteth the Gospell of Christ, & establisheth lawes derogatorie from the true worship of God cōmanded onely in the holy scriptures, haue their *Supersedeas* authenticall. For which cause hath God, least his seruants should make shipwracke of their faith and conscience, whom he hath not fitted to be Martyrs, made a way in the hearts of Princes that they may trauell into other Nations peaceably, and there abide till the Lord shall remooue the rodde of persecution from his Church. Of which wee haue singular testimonies both in the dayes of *Queene Marie*; and contrariwise in the blessed reigne of *Queene ELIZABETH*: Who granted to seuerall Nations within her Dominions freely to exercise their Religion, and that in distinct formes,

formes, in their seuerall tongues, for the better entertainment of their consciences. Nowe to auoyde the inconueniences of this libertie, that many vpon blinde zeale and offended consciences may pretend; such Trauailers must obserue these Rules following, or the like.

First, that all subiects before they enterprise trauaile in this kind are to consider with themselves, whether there be not some other licentious affectes that spurre them

*Their duties
before trauell.*

forward. For, though men vpon other grounds of affectes haue libertie to trauaile by licence or flight, yet is their iourning altogether displeasing to God and disparageable with men: much more in the case of religiō.

*No licentious humor
may presse
these forth.*

For it is made changeable and turneth soone into hypocrisie. Secondly, such are to ponder well whether the Religiō, which they professe and would gladly exercise, be that which by Christ was instituted and by his Prophets and Apostles; contained in the Canonickall scriptures: wherein all ceremoniall and olde blind sacrificing worshippe, all humane traditions that consent not with the faith and to edification; all idolatrie and politicall gouernement that derogateh from GODS glorie, is forbidden, as thinges damnable. From hence are all perigrinations and pilgrimages to any place for the performance of vowes; or sacrificings for sinnes, impious and vaine. Thirdly, howbeit, for the nourishment of that true and righte Religion, men maye bee iustly moued to trauaile, yet it is the office of all so trauailing to weighe and consider with themselves, first, whether the same bee not professed alreadie in their Countrey, or libertie permitted for such to exercise the same.

Right Religiō,

*Toleration of
Religion.*

To sue for
licence of the
Magistrate.

What Coun-
tries are best
for these to
trauaile in.
Of three, one
free from dan-
ger.

Their offices
in trauaile,

For, if there be an exercise thereof there; or a toleratiō though in a priuate sort, a subiect only for this ought not to trauell nor forsake his owne Land, Countrie, parents, brethren, and that Church whereof he is a member, for any other vaine perswasion or fancie. Fourthly, if so be there be neither publike exercise nor priuate toleration; and in case ther bee Lawes prohibitive for trauelling, it is the dutie of euerie subiect to mooue the Prince or Magistrate, to whom authoritie is committed, to grant licence: the which if it can not bee obtained it is better to venture flight and shunne persecution then to abide it; vnlesse such an one can find in his hart the motions of strength and courage to suffer persecution for the truth of the Gospell, without wauering. Yet of the two it is better to flie from persecution, then being come into it, to faint, & so leaue their hope & faith in ieopardie. Lastly, let not such stand indifferent whether they goe, so they may be provided for: for if there be any choice, the best is euermore to be elected. And therefore considering in outward shew that is best where the Gospell is flourishing, yet in other cases dāgerous; I presuppōse three kind of places to trauaile into for this kinde of people, and only one free from danger. The first, a State which is enemie to their Countrie. The second, a State neerely linked in many respects to their Countrie. The third, a State, which is indifferent: I meane such a State as is neither fast friend, nor apparant enemie. To peece out our discourse about these it is needelesse, being apparant vnto all men, that the newter or free state is least dāgerous to be trauailed into for this kind of people. Their offices now in trauaile offer themselues. First, considering they are now be-
come

come separates from the world, their courses must be so much the more spirituall, that the prouident hand of God may not be remooued from them, and that hee may receaue them as members of his Church into fauour againe. Wherefore let them serue God truly in those places wherein they shall be disperfed; that they may cause euerie nation fearing God to tender their estates and to relieue their necessities. Secondly, let them demeane themselves euerie one according to his estate and abilitie answerable to the Lawes & customes of those places wherein they shall happily abide, that no hatred or mislike befall on such. And in case the number of those shall be so great as to make a congregatiō by themselves, hauing humbly obtained the same of the Prince or Magistrate in a place convenient, it be-houeth such a Congregation to institute that Order of discipline which may best sort with the Magistrats pleasure: that no iarres or dissension arise therein: or other policie be established then that which consenteth with other godly Churches, vnlesse it shall be left vnto their owne election to sample their discipline after the most reformed and esteemed Churches: about which if controuerfie arise, let the appointinent thereof be referred to the Magistrate or Prince of the State. And in case the same be thus once considerately established, wherein no iust offence to any may arise (though in euerie politicke bodie there are some weake members that are scandaled at things indifferent) the same ought to bee continued without alteration; least dissension and displeasure creep in, a thing most displeasing in the church of God; and to strangers, in a strange Nation most dangerous. But in case the numbers of such be so small, and

To serue God
sincerely.

To obey the
lawes and disci-
pline.

Not to change
the discipline,
being once
Regular.

In discipline
the doctrine
not the policy
is to be sought
after.

the place will not permit a distinct Church, then ought such to be conformable vnto the discipline of that place, auoyding also all publike and priuate dislike of the discipline, or gouernement there vsed. And though that State retaine in their policie many things, which were better left out, then commaunded, yet strangers are to followe the doctrine and not externall things, as Ceremonies and orders. For, the intermeddling therewith saoureth not of Christianitie and knowledge.

Not to refuse
any honest trade
to liue by.

No excessse
to be discouered.

No Diuers in-
to the politicke
gouernement
or secrets.

Neuer to bee
noted for idle
persons.

Thirdly, in case such be deprived of maintenance, or if the custome of that place wherein they liue doe accompt it requisite, let euerie one in his calling bend himselfe to some honest Science or mechanicall trade, that they may not only get their livings honestly, but may bee also reputed good members of that Common Weale. Moreouer, if wealth abound, let not such spend that lauishly, wantonly, or carelessly. For that benefiteth not any; much lesse strangers, in a strange Nation, especiall the religious, the same being a scandall to their profession.

So in matters and affaires of the ciuill State, let them not entermeddle nor be curious searchers into the secrets therof. For, being placed in a State only for zeale of Religion, they must giue continuall shew of vertue, and shunne euerie thing that may breed ialousie; least that State into which they are receiued hold them rather for Spies, then for Religious professors. Neither let such bee noted for fayneants and idle persons: for such corrupt an Estate. And let them bee euer kinde and respectiue to the people with whome they are suffered to liue amongst; rather sufferers of iniuries

injuries then offerers of any wrong to them; neuer accepting *Duello*, but by the permission of the Magistrate for capitall wrong. Lastly, that thorough no perswasion of their friends at home, or of enemies abroad, or of their owne tempting affections, they goe about treacherously, or rebelliously, to practise or rise against their native Soueraigne, in any sort, howe vniust or vngodly soeuer their Prince be: but rather seeke vnto God to turne his heart, and to giue a peaceable returne home vnto them.

Not treacherous to their owne Prince or Countrey.

The last point we will briefly handle concerning their offices when they happily shal be recalled, or permitted to returne, in two obseruations. First, that how-

Their offices when they returne.

soeuer the State stands affected, it being permitted to them to haue libertie of conscience and priuate exercise of Religion, Not to attempt or consent vnto any commotion, insurrection, or any such treasonable action, but to carry loyall hearts towards the Prince and State, not once publiely speaking or writing against the Ecclesiastical policie, nor be strict and ouer-precise in things externall and indifferent: but

Noe busie bodies or moouers of sedition.

carrie respect vnto the times, and late standing of things; vsing all things to the glorie of God without offence or breach of conscience. And considering that there is of most things a ciuill and superfluous vse, let such retaine the Ciuill, and construe euerie thing rather to the best and to edification, then to preiudice the conscience of one another, leauing the superstitious vseage to those that vpon good knowledge doe vse the. That other is the sociable & peaceable carriage of euerie one to his neighbour, seeking al occasiōs to encrease loue and mutual societie.

To vse a godly and quiet conversation.

As

Of Volūtaries. As concerning other things required in Trauellers, let it be sought for in the Voluntarie trauellers which now offer themselves to be discourted on, being the proper subiect of our point in hand.

The moouers of Volūtaries. The pleasure of parents. 3 Before wee enter into the listes of this matter, there are some things considerable: for there be some that go vnder the name of voluntarie trauellers moued out of their parents pleasure and will. The callings of which may seeme equally lawfull no doubt, so their parents performe their offices and haue them well guided & instructed, in the *interim* of their iourney (for trauell to some bodies are as new birthes; that beare them, of dull mindes and sowre, good quicke and sweete conuersing spirits and inclinations: yea amendeth many imperfections of nature); so as the lawfulness of the parents ende and purpose haue a lawfull pretence also.

The finall and efficient moouing causes considered.

Two lawfull finall moouers.

The prime.

Thus may the efficient and finall causes come foule one of another: for the clearing of which confusion, I iudge it needefull to consider a few words of the endes in generall; that when the particular kindes of trauailers shall be mentioned, their endes by implication may appeare. Of endes lawfull, there are two heades: one Prime and principal; the other Congruent and Secundarie.

The prime is diuine and spirituall, That afterwards we may leade a more quiet, contented and peaceable life, to the honor and glorie of God, with knowledge and vnderstanding. And this no doubt ought to bee the first marke, for euerie man to shoote at in this life, that by doing the reuealed will of God, euerie one may seek vnto himselfe the assurance of heavenly happinesse, which is incomprehensible and eternall. That other,
Congruent

Congruent and Secundarie, is agreeable also and fitting the calling of euerie particular; being of two sorts: Publike or Priuate. The Publike is most honorable, and should stirre vp euerie man with delight to vndertake trauaile for the good of ones Countrie. Neither is the Priuate discommendable, considering it giueth satisfaction or at the least sufficiencie to liue well and happily according to the humor of the world, whereby it may be apparant that the motiues and ends of some are all one.

The secundarie
is duple.

Moreouer, seeing it may be doubted whether all persons may be included vnder the third ranke of Regular Trauellers: and also whether all times be fitting for these to vndertake Trauaile: And lastly, whether euery age be congruent with these: let vs in order cleare these three points. To the first, I obserue three Opposers: to wit Nature, which prohibiteth Infants and decrepit persons, whose defect of vnderstanding and dotting age pleadeth insufficiencie. Imperfection, others as fooles, madde men and furious persons whose disabilities of minde are such as no hope can be expected for the one or other. Lastly, the Sex in most Countries prohibiteth women, who are rather for the house then the fielde; and to remaine at home, then trauaile into other Nations, but in speciall cases. As touching the second, what times are fittest for the voluntarie tra-uellers to goe in, we must obserue a duple season, either of their owne Countrie or of those whereinto they would trauaile. Touching the first, let none trauaile at those times when their Countrey is engaged with Ciuill, or expecteth warres. For, to leaue the same in time of necessitie, were vnnaturall and dan-

By Sex.

What times
se fit to tra-
uaile in.

D

gerous:

gerous : in the one case it being disparageable, to leaue the Countrie when enemies inuade the same ; in the other case it may prove perilous to such , many sundrie wayes. And therefore that time is best, whē ones Countrie is in peace and tranquillitie.

Touching the second, that the seasons also of such Countries whereinto such trauaile ought to be regarded , it belongeth to euery particular to make obseruance , When he may reape most profit thereby in the shortest time : namely the souldier when there are warres: the Ciuilian or Lawyer, when great matters are debated in Parliaments , Vniuersities or disputations, concerning points of equitie, prerogatiue, iurisdiction and such like: The Diuine, when any Generall or Nationall Councel is heald touching their profession: The Mechanicke, when such and such Artes and trades doe singularly flourish &c. Yet euerie man so trauailing must take heede, how he goe into a Countrie that is iealous of his Prince, and subiects ; which chaunceth euermore when Princes are enemies or when they haue intestine warres and factions that vse any policie to aduantage their partie.

What age is
meetest to tra-
uail in.

Now the third and last is, whether any age be congruent for these voluntaries. This is a harde thing to resolute vpon ; for there may be reasons on both sides, that commend youth, and other reasons that preferre the middle age. But seeing the reasons for youth profit but in speciall cases and but few persons : I rather insist vpon the middle age. For, the nouage of men is vn capable either to apprehend or comprehend things important, for the State of which they are, or for theselues: Or else transported with many turbulent affections that
hinder

hinder their quiet ingenious vnderſtādings, and rather gather corruption the commendableneſſe, which ouerwaigh ſuch good parts as they happily in longe time with paines haue collected. Wherefore the Diuine *Plato* by implication forbade men to trauell in this kind till they came to fortie yeares of age. But our age and climate now perfecteth ſooner: and therefore wee will take the meaning of his wordes, which implyeth thus much; That age to be fitteſt for trauaile in which a man in ſhortest time may make moſt profite, and bee in leaſt daunger to be corrupted, by his owne ſwaying affections, or by the ſlie perſwaſions of others: The which chāceth in our Climate after twentie ſiue yeres in moſt bodies; and therefore the Phyloſopher addeth, Such might trauell till 50 yeares. By which words I collect two things: one, that men ſhould not make too ſhort a returne, and ſo be little bettred by their trauaile. The other that when men grow aged and declining, trauailing ſhould be left off (conſidering that age is labourſome enough without trauaile; and it argueth in cōſideration) but in ſpeciall caſes. So as the middle age frō thirtie or therabouts vnto fortie is the moſt gathering, for ſuch as will be publike members of a Common-weale, to learne obſerue and collect ſo many things as are requireable in all worthy and compleat Trauailers. Nowe to our point in hand: the perſons thus voluntarily preſt out are either of the Nobilitie or of the Commons. The Nobilitie are either general or ſpeciall. The Nobilitie general are ſuch as haue no profeſſion ſingular: The ſpeciall are ſuch as before trauel make ſome profeſſiō. wherof I cōceau ſower diſtinct kinds: Diuines, Souldiers, Ciuill Lawers, Phyſitiā; of which we wil cōſider after we haue grated vpo the Cōmons: who are either Mechanicks or Marchants.

These voluntaries are Nobles or Commons. The nobles either make profession or not. Foure notable professions,

Two ranks of
Marchants.

Men of warre
& their offices.

The duties of
marchants.

To accommo-
date their coun-
try with good
and most need-
full things.

The Marchants are of two sorts here meant, such as are knowen to the State, and such as goe vnder the name of warre, vnknown to the State otherwise then by letters of marke and permission: who are chiefly to take heed they transgresse not the boundes of their Commission. And therefore before they trauaile by Sea, let them learne well, who may be made prizes, and what; least the State be troubled for the abuse of such, and they themselves shent and lose their voyage. Moreouer, let them be carefull to set downe in their seuerall Sea Charts, euerie thing of speciall note; as Countries, Hauens, Creekes, Iles, Rockes, Gulfes, Shooles, Sands, Shelues and such like: whereby others after them may make vse thereof, to the profit of the Common-weale. And when these shall returne, to make a true relation (if they be demaunded) of euerie accident during their voyage, and of such aduertisements as may stand the Sate in vse, of which they are.

But those other knowen Marchants, for that their Trauailes are knowen to be profitable, and of honest esteeme, they haue speciall priuiledges which to no other voluntarie Trauailer chanceth; namely to passe and repasse with safe conduct, themselves and their substances, vnlesse in times of warre, &c. In regarde whereof they are tyed vnto these duties; First, by a prudent, diligent, and faithfull care to obserue by what things the State may be most benefited; and to haue perseuerance where such Marchandize that the State most vseth and desireth may be had with greatest ease, least charge, and without inconuenience to his Countrey: Where there may be a likelihoode of continuance without mislike of their Princes, whose affaires
are

are much managed by Marchants. And though the disposition of these things belongs to the Prince, yet the disquisition appertaineth to the calling of Marchants; who, when they haue excogitated a thing to the benefit of the State by Marchandize or new trades, referre the discussion to the Counsaile of the Prince whether the same be aduantageous or no. Secondly, let them in any case not transport any thing prohibited; or vnto their Countries enemies, nor suffer their Factors to send ouer such as may be displeasing or vnprofitable to their Prince, Lawes, or Countrie. Thirdly, let all of this kinde conceale the secrets and outward state of their Countrie with faithfulness and respect: and be verie circumspect to prie into the secrets of other Countries where they come, least they be held for spies and no Marchants; a thing most dangerous to those people.

Neuer to transport things prohibited.

To conceale the secrets of their Princes states.

Lastly, forasmuch as most of this kinde of Trauailers are of singular iudgement and vnderstanding, to make prudent obseruation of things beneficiall to the State: Let thē ifso they be demanded relate how things stand abroad, and in case they know any thing of moment the concealement whereof may incommode the State, it is their ducie to discouer the same when they retourne, with the greatest secrecie and speed vnto such as are knowne to bee priuie Councillers, and to none other. For, oftentimes passing thorough many mouthes, the importances of good newes and intelligence are much impaired.

The other sort of the Commons, to witte, Mechanicks (whose trauaile may also accommodate an Estate with many things to set the poorer sort to worke and

Mechanicks trauailers.

and as it were plant in their Countrey the commodities & peculiar trades of other nations) now resteth to be had. The chiefe trades wherof are by Marchants brought for the most part into States, and by them ordered till long vse disperse the throughout, to the benefit generall. Now, in regard with vs there are many Artes, not in that perfection as in other Countreies, or such as the rarer sort of those be, which are set vp and vpheld by strangers to the preiudice of the Realme (yet not so much as in case there were none at all) it is a thing verie requisite for these kind of Trauellers and for the State, in case they cannot be attained vnto at home. Moreouer we see in other Countreies few, apprentices, aboue three yeares for one trade; which giueth much encouragement to such as couet the same. And there is nothing more beneficiall for a State to vphold the same then the vsing of these Occupations and trades which set many hands to worke and haue many dependants. Wherefore in times past there were reckoned but vii. Mechanicke Artes, because a State could not want either, and in regard they are the generall heads vpon which all other depend. Hence in our State husbandrie and Clothing are the nerues of the weale publike, the failing whereof must needs turne the cote of the State. Insomuch as it is a hard matter to discern whether Woll or Corne accomodate this State more: though expressly Tillage carrie the greater sway then breeding of Sheepe and grasing. But to our purpose.

Let such trauailers first, hauing libertie to trauaile, surney the best places, where those Arts are to be learned; The offices of as in *Germanie* all manner of Formers, Potters or figure-Mechanickes in journeying, lists are to be found in perfection. In *Italy* Architecture, Limming,

Limning, Painting, Engrauing, Imagerie, Textorie, and weauing, and Artes ingenious may be learned. So according to euerie Countries seuerall commodities seuerall and peculiar Artes do flourish. Lastly, let them spend their times so diligently as commoditie and estimation be their reward.

The Nobilitie as was said were generall or speciall. The special were of fower sorts, Diuines, Souldiers, Ciuil Lawyers, & Physiciā: which are so called special Trauailers not in regard such be more excellent or honorable the others, but for that such prescribe vnto the a special thing to be attained vnto as wel for perfectiō as satisfactiō. Of these in order. First, the Diuines be such as make profession of Diuinitie outwardly in the State, wherby they may be employed in the Ministrie and seruice of God. And although all men must account it a chiefe honour vnto them contemplatiuely to make profession thereof: yet such may not trauaile but in speciall cases as before hath been alleadged, on the pretence of knowledge; the same being to be attained vnto within their own Countrie: whereas the outward professors, that haue the calling of Ministers, haue in some cases better warrant.

The consideration of the foure notable professions in noble traualers.

Diuines, inhibited trauaile but in speciall cases.

Howbeit, by our positine law Clearkes are forbid to trauaile, for this pretence. For in case such may be satisfied and endoctrined in the points they doubt of within their owne Princes Dominions, of godly and learned professors, I see not how their Trauailes can be lawfull. But in case where the Gospel and truth is not preached, I iudge it a most happy thing for any whosoever to serch the word in other nations: but not without licence of the State. For no man ought to dispose of himselfe so, as his Prince should lose the benefit of his person, the which is

The person of a subiect belongs chiefly to the Princes disposition.

dispen-

Four lawfull
pretenses of
Diuines to tra-
uaile.
The generall
Counsaile.

A famous
Librarie,

dispensable in the case of God onely and in case of per-
secution, wherein God is interestted. Moreouer, it is
from the office of Ministers that haue the cure of soules,
to goe into voluntarie Trauaile, for any ordinarie pre-
tense, and leaue the same without a right good
shepherd; and in many cases not then, though he leaue
in his roome a carefull pastor. For, this function and
vocation is more to be respected then others, it being
singularly dedicated to the seruice of God. Then of
such Diuines as may trauaile we obserue foure preten-
ses: two generall, and two speciall. The generall are
either of a generall Councell or Nationall: or of some
famous Librarie. But in case such Councils bee not
compounded of worthie and knowen men, of learning
and iudgement & approued by the State whereof men
are, the profit will be so little as the pretence must cease.
So is it of the other generall pretence, namely the view
of some famous Librarie, which containeth such fa-
mous printed bookes or manuscripts as faithfully dis-
cuss of points not yet concluded, nor to bee had and
procured other where. For, in case by transcripts or
any assured collections men may attaine vnto the pith
of those points, this pretense should also cease. The
two pretences are either to haue conference with such
famous men, whose learning may satisfie & endoctrine;
or else with those naturall Iewes and Grecians whose
learning may for the furtherace of those diuine tongues
giue much helpe to the vnderstanding of the Scriptures.
Yet if so the Gospell flourish already, in their owne
Countrie, and that there be learned men to bee reue-
renced, in all things to be doubted of; if such choose
rather to trauaile then to conferre, and aske to be resol-
ued

ued of those their Countriemen, the pretence of them must also cease. For, it is a contempt to the Church whereof they are members, to trauaile for instruction, when men may be well instructed at home without inconuenience, especially where there are Vniuersities, & publike professors of the. It is needlesse to prescribe rules for these in trauailing: for the most are sage and prudent men; and therefore we will passe to the second sort: to wheet Ciuilians.

Ciuite Lawyers haue a lawfull pretence, so be it the Ciuilians. Ciuite Law be in request in the State whereof such are, and cannot be attained in so singular a manner, as in those Vniuersities that wholly consist thereof, and where that law flourisheth most. And although the Law may in some sort, by reading and conference in the Vniuersities, be for Theorie and iudgement sufficiently gotten in ones owne Countrie, yet the lively expression and Elocution thereof I iudge in other Nations for the common vse may adorne counsaile in the best manner. Wherefore as it is the office of Diuines aboue all things to take heed in their trauaile they be not corrupted with false doctrine, wherewith other people of other Nations strue to tempt Schollers at this day: so let it be the first office of these Ciuilians (men for the most part indued with great vnderstanding & faculties) to be well grounded in their Religion before, and consequently faithfull, secret & honest to their Countrie, hauing a vigilant eye, that they be not misseled by the subtilties of other Nations, & many of their vnfound positiōs in their law Canon, frō the sinceritie of their Religiō & the Gospell: the which shall adorne them when they returne, more then all their learning and obseruations. For, by how much

The offices of
Diuines and
Ciuilians.

To be settled
and stable in
Religion.

To be studious

To take
degrees,

Souldiers,

men of wit and vnderstanding stand firme in the truth, & puritie of Religion, by so much shal their learnings and honesties be had in recommendation, with whom they conuerse afterwards: the same in Trauailers voluntarie being a rare matter. Moreouer, let them be careful to make obseruance for the rights, customes, statutes, ordinances, proclamations, decrees, particular lawes and priuiledges, liberties & prerogatiues of places and persons where happily they shal come. Lastly, whensoever they trauaile into forreine States where there are Vniuersities and where there are degrees to be taken, let them labour to attaine to the same. For, to men of desert it is reputed a dishonor, to returne without them, in case they freely may be attained vnto. For, otherwise the pretence of their trauaile wil in the mindes of men cease, the degree being the Crowne of their vocatiō, which to professors is most necessarie. For other things we referre them to such obseruations as to the generall Voluntaries are prescribed, afterwards. The Souldiers follow.

The profession of these voluntarie Trauailers is armes and warrefare, a thing much approued of euerie Common weale. And although none should so binde himself to that vocation, as all his life time to liue by the same, but rather in peace and tranquillitie afterwarde, yet the pretence of yong men & of able bodies, to endure hardnesse for the aduancement of their Countries weale and discipline, is honorable, carying a more sensible liking of the State thē the former two. And although, by reading, conference and such like consideratiōs vpon other mens experiences, many are made good Theoristes & Counsellors in warre to direct orderly & warily before battell or skirmish, yet no man can be a compleat soldier with-

out

out action, & almost continuall exercise in armes. For when encounters chance, self-eye-seeing experience shall be a readier preuentresse of accidēts & infinite occurrences that chance, to assure the victorie. Yet are there thus two compleate kinds of Soldiers in their seuerall kindes; Such as be experienced themselues & men of action: and those whose singular contemplation on the experiences of others, are able in meeke time to giue good direction and counsaile. For, as there are some whose experience only haue made them learned to encounter actions and accidēts, & in the incountring are right circumspect and valorous, yet can not such in Counsaile giue the best direction, for the generall encountering of inconueniences: so there are others on the contrarie, whose prudent care to provide for euerie occurrence, that to the vnderstanding at first and before action is represented, is such as if euerie thing should fall out according to their deliberation, no doubt would assure victorie: but, comming to ioyne, faile on the sodaine what to resolute of. But when the spectacles of the one are ioyned with the eyes of the other, in that souldier doubtlesse compleatnesse and perfection dwelleth. For, as glasses artificiall, concurring with the nature of each sight, aide and preserve much the sight of euerie eye; so Arte ioyned with experience, in warre especially, giueth an assurance of perfection, aswell to preuent the worst, as to provide for the best, and that vppon an instant; which beareth great swaie in batailles. Wherefore, in the first place as for those that are minded to bee Trauailers in this kind, they had need to learn the grounds of the Arte of warre before hand, that such may make the best vse of their times; namely, Arithmeticke,

Two sorts of
good Soldiers.

A Compleate
Souldier.

The first point
of learning in a
Souldier.

The second
point of confi-
deration.

The third,

The fourth.

The fifth.

Geometrie and other Mathematicke sciences, that may happily traine them vp to more iudgement in one yeare (it so they also passe some time in historie) then others in fīue. Secondly, being thus prepared, let them consider with themselves that no one discontentment wage them forwarde, but to enable theselues for to do their Countrie good, and Prince seruice, when occasion shall bee profered. For, such as go otherwise cannot be assured of Gods protection, blessing or fauour: for want whereof we see how vainly the greater part of these Trauellers spend their times. Thirdly, they are to ponder whether at such time as they would trauaile, their Prince and Countrie shall not neede to imploy their seruice either at home or abroad: For, in such cases it cannot but argue vanitie to trauaile, when as their Prince or Countrie shall haue speciall vse of them. Fourthly, to accustome themselves to endure extreamities, of heate and cold, of paines of body and minde, of bodily trauaile in swift and slowe motions, and to be able to manage euery sort of armes offensīue or defensīue vsed on horsebacke or on foote: that, when such shal come to serue in the warres of any Prince, estimation attend on them. For, none can be iustly reputed for his particular cōpleat soldier in action, but he that is able to serue in all attempts in any kind of seruice with iudgement and resolution. Fifthly, let such bend their trauels into those Countries, either wher their Prince maketh war or fauoreth; or go vnder the conduct of such Princes, as are neereest friends vnto their Prince & Countrie. For, it is vnseemely that any should choose to serue rather vnder strangers then friends. Lastly, to this must be annexed, that such trauaile for their greater benefit into those Countries where best seruice and discipline

pline is to be learned : for that maketh a Soldier to be vnder good discipline & to see good seruice; which is in double respect, either of the enimie against whom, or in the Countrey wherein such serue. The enimie against whō men serue, doth aduāce the seruice if he be stirring, & alwayes plotting of some matter against his enemies, whether hee keepe the fiede or lie in Garrison : In like sort may the seruice be bettered by those vnder whom men serue. The consideration of the Countrey is triple, that maketh the seruice good, which in the ende shall perfect a Souldier: the first is, where the Countrey is champaine, & that either of Moūtains or of Valleys: the seruice wherein makes men alwayes to stand vpon their guard, and to be well accompanied in euerie designe. The second in couert Countreies, marshie and boggie; which are the aptest for stratagemes and surprizes, making men watchfull & prouident euermore to suspect the worst, wherefocuer they come. The third and last, are the fortifications of Countreies, or those Countreies that stand most vpon them, which employ the spirits and ingenious parts of Souldiers, after an extraordinary manner.

What maketh
a good foldier.

A triple kind of
seruice, to perfect
souldier.

The first *Nauarre* and *Sauoy* are apt for, and the Lowe Countreies that bee wasted : The seconde, *Ireland* will furnish men with : And, in the worlde for the third, a man cannot haue better experience then in the Lowe Countreies. So as when such Trauailers haue gotten experience in one, if they desire perfection, let them trauaile for the other: For in few Countreies & wars shall men finde all.

Then, being arriued into the Armie or Garrison and entred into the seruice, first, with great diligence euerie

Their duties in
seruice.

thing of speciall marke contained either in discipline or
 service ought to be obserued: and for euerie mans better
 vnderstanding, let them discourse thereof and question.
 Secondly, let such be verie studious to obserue all lawes
 and ordinances of that discipline; as also to obey euerie
 speciall Commandement of their Cōmanders: for therein
 consisteth the honor of a soldier. And though the disciplin
 permit much libertie of idlenes, (wherby many are
 entised to gaming, vnholie & vnprofitable exercises) Let
 such, being strangers especially, abstain frō those childish
 recreations, and either confer about things they are igno-
 rant of, or reade such books of warre & historie, that may
 sharpen and giue knowledge continually to them; or
 with company follow the managing of Armes offensive
 or defensive, wherein men cannot be too skilful or the ex-
 ercise of vaulting, leaping, swimming, darting, shooting,
 & such other of the arme as gather strength & nimblenes
 to the body, which in wars are of no small prooffe. Third-
 ly, aboue all things let strangers feare to mutinie, or ac-
 cept of quarrels, but rather put vp iniuries then offer any.
 For there is a ciuill and honorable redresse of wrongs, in
 war, to be expected from the General, Marefchall, & Cō-
 manders of the Armie, whose sentence ought to be expe-
 cted in all things of the same nature, yea in accepting of
 Combates for the honor of ones Prince and Countrie a-
 gainst the enemies, if occasion be offered.

Note.

Moreover, let such take heede, they neuer offer to ac-
 cept of Combate, for the honour of another Nation, if
 any of the same serue in the same place: for that is an in-
 iurie to that Nation. Fourthly, as none may serue vnder
 infidels, in case there be wars in Christendom: and as none
 may go and serue vnder such as are doubtfull friends vnto
 their

their Countrie or Enimies; so are all to be carefull to serue, where the right is most apparant, and where the Gospell is preached in the armie, that God may giue the best successe. So in case there be no wars in Christedom, let such trauaile to other nations (after licence obtained of their Prince) and seeke seruice of such Princes that neither warre against Christians, nor haue an ill quarrell in hand. For, as it is a shame for any to take part with enemies or with infidels against ones own Countrie: so it is requisite on the other side that they serue in those wars amongst infidels, whose cause and quarrel is iust & good in the sight of men. Lastly, let all those who will make their pretence good in the opinion of men, carry themselves so strictly in these and other common duties pertaining to souldiers, as that they make not profession thereof, but to establish peace and tranquillitie, when happily they shal returne home to their Countrie, as good Bees with wax and honey, to their hiue of the Common-weale, and demeane themselves so in times of peace, as they giue ensample to gowned men, of peaceable and orderly liuing; neither in riot nor in ambition, or pride, which keepe reuell rought in the dereigled crue of Trauailers. Now, as concerning the last order of Voluntarie speciall Trauailers: namely of Physicians.

By the word Physician, is meant first such as haue the lawfull calling; and either haue already or intende to take degrees, that they may giue countenance to their knowledge. Moreouer, by the name I conceit such as haue the facultie, and naturall knowledge of euerie thing, concerning diseases or wounds in the bodie or minde of man.

For

Two knowled-
ges requireable
in Physicians.

For, the remedying of all which, there are two things requirable; namely, the simple knowledge of euerie liuing and inanimate thing, whether of Mineralls, Vegetables, sensible Animalles, or of man and the experience how each of these in feuerall Countries and bodies haue their certaine operations. And seeing without doubt God hath planted, in the world, meanes (either of simples or of Compounds) to remedie any sicknesse or cure any wound, although the knowledge or meanes be not alwaies blessed; wee may collect the lawfulnessse of Physiciā's trauaile also. And though God haue fitted euerie Climate and Countrie with meanes to relieue the common distresses and grieuances of men, yet wee see for want of knowledge in Physicians either how to vse the simples in their owne Countries or how to compound them aright according to the *Dose* of euery body natural, they are enforced to search into other Countries for aide.

For, though we haue, as other Countries, many singular things to remedie the decay or disquiets of nature: yet seeing the simples of other Countries, for some particular bodies and griefes, are more naturall then many compounds of our own, & the skil is lesse to apply them, why shold not necessitie make Physicians trauel for knowledge as the old wife for neede. We see the artificiall Bezar stone to be lesse profitable for some bodies then the natural; the fained *Sanguis Draconis* the right which is brought frō *Africa*: & so of such like adulterous resemblāces, which necessitie, & mens gains haue laboured & arted. In the Vniuersities of learned men, that science, and store of bookes of all things in the world for simples and compounds according to their natures,
and

and vertues are better described then any one by his own trauaile can amend : (For in Trauaile there must necessarily bee much time spent, and little practise had at home : and practise is no doubt the best thing that maketh a good Physician) neuerthelesse for some diseases a man shall happily learne more by trauaile, then by all these at home.

For, there are many of our capitall diseases easily cured in other Countries. Now then, hee that will make good of his pretence, must labour into the grounds of Astronomie and Astrologie, as of proportiō. For, without these, such wander without a guide in the wilderness of nature. Moreover, during their trauaile (after licence obtained) let them make vse of euerie thing they shall see; as well of things knowne as of the vnknowne. For the difference of Climates and loyles, alter much the nature of euerie thing.

In like sort must such obserue the persons in euerie Countrie, so particularly as they can, and marke their common and accidentall diseases, & to take knowledge of their cures. So if there be any speciall Bathes, Waters, Pooles, Spawes, or Springs, the operation whereof may cure any maladie, to learne their vertues.

And lastly to frequent the most famous places and companies of learned men, whereby such may better their knowledge, & increase their discourse : which is no small thing, in a Physician, to be well mannered, ciuill, wittie, and pleasant, and of able disposition to delight his patiēts by discourse. Moreover, if such light vpō simples, which are either of a strange nature or that excell ours, let them bee carefull to transplant them; hauing a care

The vertue of
Physicians.

to the soile, climate, and growing of such, that Arte here may repaire the naturall defect of the Countrey. But considering many, when they returne home, are tainted with the humor of most trauailers, namely selfe conceipt, and better thinking of themselves then is convenient, let them be as respectiue to relieue the poore & the needie as the rich. For many Physicians will not go out of the doores to saue a poore mans life. Moreouer, let them be carefull to administer noe desperate or vnknown thing vnto any: for such, as in the former case, are no lesse then murderers before God, if their patients proue not well vnder them. Neither let couetousnes ouer-rule them, as those Physicians and Surgeons that dallie with mens bodies to get much monie: but let euerie one account it his duetie to do good to any. And in so doing they shall finde God their Physician not only of their bodyes but of their soules: whereas otherwise the saying of our Nation may be applyed fitly vnto them, Physicians cure your selues. Thus farre of the speciall Voluntarie Trauailers.

The ende of the first part.

The



The second part .



Hese Generall Voluntarie Trauailers are of the temporall Nobilitie of the Land, whether superior or inferior: and before they vnder-take Trauaile, if they will be bettered thereby, are to vndergoe sixe dueties. The first is to counsaile and deliberate with themselves, whether they bee mooued with the iust pretence of doing good to the Common weale, whereof they are, and for the enabling of themselves, with such knowledges as appertaine to their seuerall callings: or whether their owne lusts and affections pricke them not forward. For oft men are deceived for want of due consideration thereof, which turneth the plots of men topsieturue. And though it be hard to resolute on this with humane strength and reason, (for that reason, which by nature is in man, is feeble and dis-

The Volun-
taries are to
vndergoe sixe
points before
trauaile.

The first point,

fereth little from that of brute beasts) yet there is another reason in man, or the same at the least enlightened and sanctified by God, the which through faith and knowledge of his reuealed wil, teacheth man to do that which is good and pleasing in his sight. Wherefore, as this reason is pure & of an holy vnderstanding nature, so must the resolutions of men (if they would be approued and crowned with blessing) be shaped accordingly. And therefore all particular affects, rising from the disordinate appetite of man, corrupt and vsauorie (as Ambition, Sensualitie, vaine glorie, couetousnes, vanitie of knowledge, & such like) must die in these honorable kind of Trauailers; and in lieu of them the rootes of all vertuous affections must be planted, to the glorie of God, the good of themselves, their Prince & Countrie. For, considering these are principally the select members ordeined to trauaile, by the appointing hand of God, to helpe the motion and gouernement of the helme in temporall & ciuill causes oftentimes, let such take heede those vaine and gadding humors plucke not downe the iudgement of God, to presse such to trauaile for punishment of their wayes; whereby none can scale vnto themselves the assurance of life, or prosperitie, during their trauaile or afterwards.

Five principall
euil mouers
of men to tra-
uaile to be
shunned.

The second
point.

Knowledge &
Iudgement the
enhablers of
trauailers.

Now, in the second place it is required that such examine themselves before trauaile, whether they haue capable parts answerable to the callings of these Trauailers. The capable parts of Trauailers consist in knowledge and iudgement of those things that may best profit them in trauaile, and furnish them of things needeful, by which men are fitted to accomplish so honorable an enterprise.

By

By Iudgement is meant the vnderstanding age, seeing into the affaires of their native Countrie: Knowledge, it is of the wants which are naturally in vs; the which are to be supplied and repaired, by learning and experience.

For, as without iudgement men cannot gather the best things in trauaile, that may fitte iumpest with the State of their Countrie and themselves: so without knowledge things cannot bee performed well. And therefore it behoueth euerie one, so intending to trauaile, to be endued with learning and discretion: for by learning knowledge is atchieued, and discretio enableth the iudgement to discern what things and Policies are to be receiued, what reiected. And vnlesse men put on before trauaile these Armour, they cannot winne the sorte of their desires. For, he that trauaileth to see experiences in other Nations, and hath not power to discern, what are needefull to bee gathered, commeth home as a bodie to the graue without a soule. In which plight we see daily experience in this Land: for many trauaile young that want both: others of more vnderstanding that want iudgement: and others whose iudgements are actiue, yet faile in learning. So as many when they come home proue too subtrill, & without conscience, in their resolutions, and consequently dangerous to be conuersed with; others newfangled hobby horses, & of final vnderstanding, or little the better to be conuersed with.

From hence the third dutie springeth, namely Instruction in knowledge fit for trauailers: the which is either of things appertaining to the Country where such trauel, or to themselves. First, as concerning things belonging to themselves, they are three; qualities, vertues and sciences.

F 3

The

Without learning or experience, no knowledge.

Iudgement the collector of profitable things.

The defect of learning or iudgement what it breedeth.

The third point

Three things appertaine to themselves.

Qualities
duple.
The necessary.

The qualities are duple; either for necessitie, or for Ornation. The necessarie is the speaking or the vnderstanding of the tongues of those Countries into which such trauaile: for these are the instruments of knowledge and experience; without which men shall consume great time vnprofitably in other Countries, whiles they are learning the tongue. And therefore let such practise the tongues before they trauaile, that they make not a shadowe of their knowledge as many doe: who trauailing into other Countries attaine to nothing, saue the speaking of their languages. The qualities for Ornation, are practise in managing of Armes and weapons, skill in Musicke and daunsing and drawing the counterfeites of any thing: The estimation of all which are so approued that they neede no confirmation; For euerie man living in the Courts of Princes shall bee honoured by them.

For Ornation.

Their vertues.

The second point of knowledge are vertues, which must be the Councillors of such in euerie Action, to make them esteemed, and make them right Courtiers at the first entrance, in euerie forreine State. And therefore let them inhabite euerie diuine and morall vertue, that traineth men vp to humanitie & ciuile conuersation: without which it is a vaine thing to trauaile and expect any good ende.

The last and third point of knowledge is Science or the knowledge in naturall and mathematicall Artes: that is to say, an insight in the grounds of Astronomie, Astrology, Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, Geometrie, Arithmeticke and Archirecture: all which whoeuer trauaileth shall employ, and without which many things of note shall be foreflowen, and left vnperfectly knowen. For, the better men are grounded in these

these, the more profite shall they make of their times. In so much as if a skilfull fortifier or Architectist doe but lay his eyes vpon the modell of any Towne or fortification, he will deliuer the true plot, strength or weakenes naturall or artificiall that it containes, or ghesse verie neere; the which an ignorant person can neuer doo, but by chaunce. So it is of those which excell in Corography or Geographic: who but riding poste through a Countrie will make a particular description of euerie thing seated on the earth, in proportion or neere, as well of Townes, Fortes, Houses, as of Riuers, Hills, Dales, Woddes, Plaines and Wayes, or any thing else that lies within the kenning of their eies, or by necessarie collection. And therefore we finde recorded that in times of war messengers of the enemy were wont to be blinded, when they approched neere the fortifications or Campes, and so carried backe till they were out of kenning. The which may be saide of the rest: For these Artes are instruments to settle and fixe in the memorie objects that fall to the senses, but especially to the eye: euen as wee see the practicke Musicians will instantly play whatsoeuer chaunceth in harmonies sound to their eare. I consideratly left out Musicke among the Mathematicall Artes, though it be an excellent Science: yet in a Trauailer or Gentleman let it be rather a qualitie, as we haue saide to grace him in conuenient times, and places to be sociable, then a Science whereof men make profession. For, a Gentleman may haue the qualitie to play well vpon gentlemanlike instruments, without the Science or Arte of any grounds of musicke; euen as there may be excellent Musicians that can not strike one true stroke of any instrument, and yet both concluded vnder

The rules of
Art are as faith
full helpers of
mens memories.

Musicke rather
a qualitie then
a Science in
trauailers of
this kinde.

vnder one name. For the theorie & practicke in Musicke are two; & the one seemely for gentlemē of other means, namely the practicke: although it cānot be but a singular commendation for any that excell in both, so that hinder not other more necessarie sciences. As touching the knowledge of the Countrie wherein men trauaile, wee haue in other places prescribed sufficient rules to make prouision, and to remooue inconueniences, so as for breuitie the same may be omitted here.

The fourth
point.

To be well
accommodated
of all things
needfull.

To trauell in a
private fashion
most gainfull.

The fourth duetie is of Charitie. For, hauing gotten licence of their Prince, & friends to whom such owe subiection (otherwise their pretēce will seeme *Irregular*) they must accommodate themselues of all things needfull for their trauaile; the chiefe whereof is only prouision of monie: which by billes of exchange, is the safest and most profitable way, the course also being common. Onely this, let such take order they may haue sufficient of Marchants wherefoeuer they shall come: for want breedeth many inconueniences. And therefore let such proportion their estate with the largest before trauaile: the which must bee according to euerie ones course, estate and retinewe. For, some Countries are verie chargeable generally; where either dearth, much riotte, or troubles reigne. Moreover, of what State soeuer a man be, it is not good to trauaile with a greater traine, then neede requires. For, it is vnpossible that such an one shall attaine vnto the light of many things and secrets: which more priuate men may. Neither can it quit cost, since the voluntarie action of any subiect (vnlesse in some publike seruice of their Prince and Countrie) ought to bee contented with meane pompe. For, such in a strange Countrie are subiect to scoffes,

scoffes; and in an Enemies or a Neuters Countrey, Iealousie and publie eyes will bee looking on such.

In the first place it is required, that they resolute to goe into such Countreys, the state of which may best like the State of which they are, and which may afford them best gaine of knowledge and experience; either to reforme in them defects of nature, or to benefite most their Common weale. And though the enemies policie auaieth most vnto the State of ones Countrey, yet when such that haue made their abode there, shall returne, it is doubtfull, how acceptable that may bee. For commonly, great suspicion tendeth on such long after, vnlesse in the *interim* of their trauailes they carrie themselues with resentment and respect. The Enemies of euery State are two, such as stand out in Religion, and contrary opinion, in the seruice of God: and such as iniustice, either of not due reuerence exhibited, or of defamation, or of preiudice, in goods or persons really, or collaterally, dayly worketh amongst Princes. But of Countreys to be trauailed into, there is a double consideration, whose friendships are auailable to the Common weale: to wheet, Those that neighborhood, Religion, alliance, perpetuall vnitie, and such like natural and ciuill bonds, haue conioyned in loue, league, and confederacie: and, Those which merchandise, mutual commerce, and such like foraine policie to benefite each others Land, haue linked in amitie: Which also are by so much the more fast tied, by how much one standeth in neede of another, how farre soeuer they bee distant off. In these, Trauailers shall reape most

The first point.

What Countreys men must resolute to trauell in,

Two enemies of an estate vpon cause,

A twofold consideration of Countreys friends,

What Countreys afford most gaine to trauell in,

most profit & contentation for their Common weale. For as he that would learne any facultie, had neede to studie the best books that write thereof; so a Trauailer that laboreth for the good of his Countrey, must frequent those places, that afford most points of needfull knowledge and experience. And though a wise man may collect, out of euery Countrie he abideth in, some profitable obseruations, yet the neighbour countreys of this Iland yeeld more requisite considerations than others. Hereof it commeth, that by the motions of *France, Spaine, Germany, the Lowe Countreys, Burgundie, and Denmarke*, this Realme is in action, & made sensible, either of trouble, detriment, or quiet; whereas the troubles of *Musconie*, the free Townes, high *Germany, Italy, Barbary*, the dominions of the Turke and Persian, incommodate this nation little, but by diuerting of the trade of merchants another way. But as touching those Countreys, which afford particular gaine of knowledge and information of maners and ciuill cariage, these Trauailers shal find in euery good and orderly gouernment thorow Christendome, but singularly here at home, & in the Courts of *France*, & Vniuersities of *Germany, Spaine, and Burgundie*. And though *Italie* haue the common prayse for these, yet the inconueniences and corruptions, that are mixed with the ciuilitie of that Countrey, may other wayes perswade men of iudgement. And since I seeme to contrary the opinions of many worthy Gentlemen, let it not be impertinent here to consider some speciall things cōcerning that State. For, *Italy* moueth most of our Trauailers to go and visit it, of any other State in the world: And not without cause, it being an ancient

Why men tra-
uaile into Italy.

cient nurcerie and shop of libertie, the which to the affects of men is precious and estimable. Moreover, I find amongst an infinite number of licencious mouers, five seemly halers of men thither, hardly found elsewhere all together. The first is the temperatnesse of the aire, and fruitfulnessse of the soyle, with answerable delights, from, and in the Countrey. Yet we see how slender a thing that is to drawe honourable personages, vnlesse necessitie for health sake presse them. The second is the speaking of the tongue and residencing in the notable Vniuersities there found. As concerning the tongue, although it bee an excellent and eloquent speach, of many other it may bee to vs least estimable. Neuerthelesse, in vaine it is to goe so farre for that, which at home with small paines may singularly bee attained vnto. Moreover, the Vniuersities there are little beneficiall for a Generalist, such as these Trauailers not vnworthily arrogate. The third is the variable manners and inclinations of the people, to ciuilitie and humanitie, the which by right of prescription belongeth to that nation of all the world. Yet considering the Court of *England* at this day is the most compleat in all things and vnto all people of other nations & Courts in the world, and that which can make men (if they be as studious therein, as abroad, to enforme themselues) perfect in ciuility & good maners, & obseruant enough; both for that the puritie of Religion (which is the best Ciuilian) and the long continuance thereof with vs, hath framed our Nobilitie in fashion, and our Prince in State, to recommend the Court of *England* aboute anie that I could euer heare of, in all points that are

Five specialties
in the commenda-
tion of Italy.

I

2

3

England the
best Court,

- 4 honorable and commendable: This is but in shew a fond entiser. The fourth, is the multiplex and different governments, and sundrie policies there found; namely, of *Rome*, of *Venice*, of *Naples*, of *Florence*, of *Millane*, of *Genoa*, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, of *Placentia* and *Parma*, of *Vrbine*, and others. But these being different governments from ours, and better described already, than any one Trauailer is able to pen downe: though this bee of the fine the principall, yet how little it booteth our Sate, I leane to Politicians to resolute. The fift and last, is the speciall gallerie of monuments and olde aged memorials of histories, records of persons and things to bee seene thoroughout the Countrey. But this being a fantastickall attracter, and a glutton-feeder of the appetite, rather than of necessarie knowledge, I will mention no further thereof. Notwithstanding, all these together are auailable, were it not for the infinite corruptions, almost ineuitable, that inuest Trauailers after small abode there; as it is reported, I know not vpon what ground, of the Realme of *Ireland*. Wherefore, let these honorable Trauailers frequent the best places: and if so bee they must needs goe thither, let them beware of *Rome*, the Forge of euery policie, that setteth Princes at oddes, or that continueth them in debates, little or much: the tempter of Subiects to ciuil dissensions, & the seller of all wickednes and heathenish impieties, or the machediuell of euill policies and practises, that are vnmeet for these worthy Trauailers to spend their time about. As for any good thing, which that State can benefit a Trauailer by, I haue not heard of, otherwise than the loathing
of

Italy a corrupter of men.

Rome the Forge of euil.

of the same afterwards: for which pretence no man hath warrant to trauaile thither, or other-where.

Now in the last and sixt place it is required of all The sixt point.

Trauailers, that they demaund licence and fauour at the hands of God, vpon these grounds to protect and blesse them in their iourney; and not without the good leaue of their Prince and parents. For if it be a commendable point and duetie for a man to aske his Parents, Tutor, Master, and Prince leaue to trauaile, then is it the office of a man, to desire the same

at the hands of God, who is the Souereigne of all those. For without his pleasure and consent alas! Without the blessing of God men trauaile in vaine.

where are our motions to any good acte, or the meanes by which they are aduanced or preserued? So that though this be the last considered of vs, yet is it the first and best of all things to be respected and performed. For since knowledge, learning, experience, honour, health, prosperitie, and all other blessings, be the mediate or immediate gifts of God, it is a foolishnes for any to perswade, and blesse their owne actions without consulting with God the eternall reason, that guideth all things to their proper endes; yea, the derelgled Trauailers to labour in vaine, and for a punishment to returne home no better, than when they went forth; and peraduenture in many things worse. For, as the obseruance of his reuealed will encourageth man to goe forward in all godlinesse, and commendable actions; so the neglect thereof maketh him taste of his secret iudgements, prepared for the carelesse and wilfull breakers of his commaund and will. Hitherto concerning the generall dueties before trauaile.

In the *interim*
of trauaile fixe
things are to
be obserued.

The first,

The second.

Three preuen-
ters of mis-
chiefes in tra-
uailing.

Diet.

In the *interim* of trauaile, there likewise resteth fixe generall obseruations of these Trauailers for the aduancement of their peregrination: Whereof the first is to attempt nothing without consulting with their conscience, and imploring the fauour of God, that euery action may haue a promise of blessing, and acceptance aswell among those with whom such shall liue, as of their owne Prince and Countrey, when happily they shall returne. The neglect whereof openeth the gate to infinite dangers and euils. For, the feare of God, which is an adiunct to this duetie, serueth for a curbe to restraine all improvident & violent courses, that carie men into inconueniences, and for a guide to aduise them of all things warrantable, honourable and pleasing in the sight of God & men: and therefore it is requirable, that these diligently euery day priuately conferre and consult with God in their spirits and prayers made vnto him. The first thus regarding the stay of the soule; so the second office respecteth the good health of the bodie, whereof Trauailers are not to be carelesse & improvident: for he that dependeth on fortune, exposeth himselfe to many deceits, perils, & losse of time. I therefore obserue three preuenters of mischiefes, & inconueniences to the safety & health of Trauailers, namely, Diet, Trauailing or Exercise, and moderation of Passions.

First, let the diet of euery man be so moderate, as neither the ayre wherein such liue afflict them, either with exceeding heate or cold, the which in some countreys Trauailers shal meete with, but by little and little accustome their bodies to endure the hardnes of the Countrey clime, which to contrary bodies is very dan-

dangerous suddainly. For which cause, *Anicen* the notable naturalist auouched, that if a Scythian should violently, & in a very short space be transported into *India*, either he would suddainly fall sicke or die: the which he would not necessarily bee, so be it he tooke time in trauaile by land or sea. Neither let any continue long in those places, where the aire is pestiferous, vnlesse their bodies can away therewith. For which cause the Cynicke *Diogenes* reioyced after his banishment, that he made a good change to be exiled from *Sinope* (a most piercing and sharpe ayre about the confines of the *Euxine* sea) to liue afterwards in *Greece*. And lastly, let the diet of all men, for eating, drinking, sleeping, clothing, and such like, be answerable to euery ones nature, that such may alwaies keep themselves in one temper, if possibly, Winter and Summer; the which is the greatest preseruatiue of mans health.

The second preuenter of inconuenience of health *Exercise.*

is trauailing from place to place, and dayly exercise, when such are abiding in any place, with moderation and respect. For, ouer-much labour distill the vitall and animal spirits, which is most dangerous.

For the trauailing from place to place, fixe things are to bee regarded. First, to haue in journeying (if neede require) faithfull and honest guides and companions: and in speciall cases, let such change rayment with their guides. Secondly, let them of two wayes take the least dangerous, and most passeable: so as alwaies the neereft way is not the best to bee chosen. Hereof the Germanes haue a saying, *Gut vneg vnib vnar nie krumb*: and wee haue a Prouerbe not much vnlike, The farther

way

Sixe things in journeying to be regarded.

1

2

- 3 way about, the neerer way home. Thirdly, in long
 journeys to be prouided of meat and drinke, and such
 like prouisions. Therefore those that passe thorow
 the deserts of *Arabia, Tartarie, Persia, Scythia*, and the
 Carouans of *Swecia* and *Musconie*, make large proui-
 sions: and for some passages, as in the sea of Sande
 in *Africa*, and other places, men are guided by the
 Compasse, standing in need of Pilots for the passage.
- 4 Fourthly, to make prouision against the extreamities
 of heate and colde, that in some places are outragi-
 ous, in which the seasons of the yeere are to be respec-
 ted. Wherefore he that will trauaile thorow *Swecia*,
 and *Musconie* on sleddes, vnlesse he shall rub his no-
 sthrils with the snowe and yce, to recall and settle his
 motiue spirits, he shall be in extreame danger to lose
 them thorow the excesse of colde. And in the yeere
 1498, of seuentie thousand Turkes that made an in-
 rode into *Musconie*, fourtie thousand suddenly were
 frozen to death. Whereupon the Turkes verily be-
 leue, that the Polonians and Muscouites are defen-
 ced by the celestiall powers. No person is able to
 trauell out of doores in the *Troglodites* land, with-
 out shooes, the ground is so scalding hote: insomuch
 that they roste their meat, by putting the same into a
 brasse vessell, and setting it in the Sunne. And in the
 kingdom of *Naples* and *Champaign*, the heat is so great,
 and ayre so pestiferous, during Iune, Iuly, and Au-
 gust, till the first raine of September, that the better
 sort will not trauaile, though the King commaund
 them, from home. Let these suffice for Trauailers to
 beware thereof, vnlesse vpon vrgent necessitie, and
 with good respect. Fifthly, to be prouided against the

rage of wilde beastes, and of robbers, the which by good companie is the safest way alwayes. Lastly, to arriue early at their Inne or baite, and to looke that the chamber where such lodge be well seated and defended: to haue in their chamber a Tinder boxe to light fire or candle; and finally, vnlesse need require, to dissemble departure from the Inne. Of this last, a man cannot bee too carefull.

The third and last preuenter of sickenesse, and censurer of health is passion, which is quadruplex Moderation of
Passion. (according to the foure complexions generall of men) namely, Mirth, Sorow, Anger, and Patience: the which remedie or continue euery distemperature of the mind. And as, *per antiperistasin*, bodily discords are tuned and appealed, so it is of the mind. For Mirth is a cordiall to sorowfull and melancholicke bodies; whereas sorow so much continueth that humor, as desperatnesse, or frensie, or both is to be feared: Sorow, in meane, maketh sanguine bodies, and merrily disposed, wise, & full of respect. But of these two, mirth is euermore to be cōmended, so it be not ouer-light & vnciuil. So chollerick bodies, seeing they are fretting & angry at light occasiōs, let them cure their imperfectiōs of nature by patience: for such are otherwise vnsociable & dangerous to be cōuersed with, as endangering themselves. For I neuer saw so cholericke a man, but hee hath met with his match: and this of strangers is reproveable. So those of flegmaticke spirits that patience hath enfeebled, that such want the harts of men, as ordained to suffer all things, though this be a ciuill & singular vertue in Trauailers, yet let none be in extremitie so patient, as it make himself a sot & a foole,

The Law of
God the best
Counsaile and
Physician of
the soule.

The third,

The fourth.

to heare his God; and his Prince & Country, and his honor wronged, whē as honestly and fitly he may, & ought to make resistance or apprehension. Finally, as the tyrannizing of these, subiect many to incurable euils, bringing to consumption the *vitall* and *animall* spirits: so ought euery worthy Trauailer to preuent these inward mischiefs by godly and timely counsell, that those flie passions frustrate not his enterprise.

Now in the third place, let euery Trauailer bee of such honest and seemely carriage, towards all with whom they conuerse, for ciuilitie and humanity, as neither contempt, derision, irrisiō, pertinacitie in discourse, bitterneesse, or no respect be vsed. For these be dissoluers of friendship, and daungerous perturbations for anie stranger, in the Countrey of an other.

Fourthly, it is the ducitie of all men to fit and applie themselues, not onely to their maners and customes with whom they liue; but singularly to haue an eye of diligent watch to their particular affaires as well for knowledge and encrease of experience, as for the retention of a sound and holy conscience. As touching the first branch, let no man loose the raigins of his owne lust and fancie amongst strangers, so that he expose himselfe to reproche & scandall. And considering many nations are apt to deceiue, a man must liue warily with them, taking heed he giue no offence. And though the customes of other nations, where a man liueth, are to be followed, yet in the case of God, or of a mans owne conscience, ther ought to be a scruple. For as it becommeth none to leaue the truth, or to exercise any wicked actiō there; so neither let any follow the beastly guises, or wicked customs of the cou-

try

key, whereby honesty & good maners may be corrupted: but in euery State to obserue the, as Diet, Apparell, Gesture, Curtesie, and such like, which in some places are precisely to be obserued. But as concerning that other branch, let men auoid to sacrifice or do reuerence to any Idole or Hobgoblin. For though many haue so large a conscience, that they perswade themselves, so they keepe their hearts to God, they may bend their knee, and bow themselves before such trash without hurt at all, yet God will not forget the hypocritie of such. For whoso vseth any outward reuerence to any Idole or diuel, incurreth the wrath of God, and is thereby made subiect to all imperfections and euils. And if in ciuil matters many be wonderful respectiue, that they will not come in presence, when they know for certaintie, that they shall see or heare their Mistris, Prince, or friend dishonored, how much more ought al men in the case of God to be precise; not only to shun the sight & hearing of their God blasphemed, and dishonored by their Masses, and estimation of reliques & images, but to seeke to right the same, if it lay in their powers?

But considering no stranger hath warrant, at this day, to oppose himselfe against them in their owne country, let him rather abiure so heathenish a place, where he cannot liue freely, than endure the sight thereof: yea, though some thinke themselves dischargeable, if they trauaile, and not both see & heare them. If there be any such, let them imitate that worthy *Themistocles*: who hauing, in the vaine yeeres of his youth, accustomed himselfe to learn and endure the sight of many things, which in nature hee abhorred,

What customs are to be followed in other countreys.

No Customes in forraine States, how wicked soeuer, are to be published with flood.

which gaue him the smacke of an excellent memory, yet in the better time of his yceres he did spend more time, to learne to forget things vnnecessarie and euill, than in learning that which was honorable; & found it more difficult & hard for him. For, the knowledge of much euill tempteth man ful oft, & withdraweth the hart more out of the way, than the strength of naturall reason can ser him aright againe long after.

The fift.

*What things
are chiefly to
be exercised,*

Fiftly, let euery one, in his calling, exercise such orate and seemely qualities of the body, that both may inable them for ciuill conuersation, as also for auaille in things requireable in Nobilitie and Gentlemen. And of the nobler sort it is required alwayes, that they discouer spirited bodies, and more actiue minds than other Gentlemen, labouring to perfect them by much industry. The things to be exercised, are, horsemanship, managing of all sorts of weapons, musicke, dancing, Poetrie, limming and portraiting, vaulting, running, & practising the five strengths of the arme, namely, griping, lifting, thrusting and holding out at the armes end, pulling and drawing, and throwing or darting. These by practise wil giue vigor to the defect of nature: for by nature it is impossible to be strong in all, the one being contrary to the other: the benefit wherof is so great, that little men shall haue no disadvantage, by the greatest persons in the world, in exercising, or single encountering, so the one practise and the other neuer. But these, being recreations, may not hinder more necessary studies, though to excell in them be honorable, and right excellent.

The sixt,

The sixt and last generall duetie, which is the very point which euery Trauailer ought to lay his
wittes

wits about, To get knowledge for the bettering of himselfe and his Countrie: This, being the object of their Countries defects and the subiect of Trauailers, in a word containeth Six generall heads, to be learned and vnderstood: namely, the tongue, the Nature of the people, the Countrey, the Customes; the Government of the State; & the secrets of the same: the which are to be sought out wheresoeuer these shall come. And though someone of these inuest many with the honorable title of Trauailers, yet in how much any shall be found defective in any of these, by so farre is hee short of the compleatnesse and true estimation that appertaineth to Trauailers Regular and honorable. These things are the vtensilis, and materialls of States men, concerning forraine matters: the which many actiue mindes though sitting at home are well read in: and except it bee for the secrets and other occurrences, alteratiōs & changes, the difference is not much betweene the home States man, not hauing spent some time in trauaile, & the compleate Trauailer, for forraine matters. Yet, herein hath a Trauailer the start of a home States man, which is fed by aduertisements only, and is ledde by other mens eyes: Euen as a Soldier in Action may presume of better euēt, then the Theorist, whose booke rules, in accidentall things, faile many times as in particular motions. For, the eye hath a more perfect sense in iudgement then the eare, if the same be rightly considered by iudgement.

Sixe principall heads of knowledge which are to be learned in traouelling.

The meanes whereon all policie is grownded.

The Tongue the first point to be learned,

Of these sixe the tongue is the first by right to be discouered: of the right knowledge whereof is somewhat more then we required such to learne before they vnderooke trauaile. For, now in the *interim* of trauaile

it is requisite, that Trauailers grow in perfection: otherwise such as stay at home may ranke with them, which is reproachfull. The perfection wherof consisteth in three things, namely, in vnderstanding, speaking, and writing the same.

Three perfecti-
ons in Langua-
ges.

What the vn-
derstanding is
of a tongue.

The State of all
Languages at
this day.

To vnderstand a tongue perfectly, is not barely to vnderstand what is read or heard pronounced, but to obserue the peculiar phrase, idiom & constructiō of words, and singularly to note whereof the tongue hath his speciall deriuation if it be a deriuatiue, or his composition: wherein Trauailers cānot be too good Grāmarians. For, in these dayes there is the true confusion of *Babell* and languages, through the world either deriuatiuely, or compositiuely, or both. And though at all times the like might be auouched, howsoeuer there was generally held many ancient Tongues, as the Hebrue, the Chaldean or Assyrian, the Arabian, and the Egyptian; yet by their characters and composition it is euident that they were all confounded, or perished, sauing the Hebrue, which was the most auncient of all the rest; and the spring from which the rest deriuatiuely or compositiuely are descended; necessitie and imitation, being the parent of these and succeeding languages. For, *Adam* the good Grammarian of the Hebrue tongue, appropriated words, not *ad placitum*, but according to the nature of things; and framed a certaine idiome of speech which in his dayes was generally spoken till the confusion of Languages.

So, since, other Monarches of the world haue exco-
gitated words according to the light of nature, and ope-
ration of things vnknowne, to perfect their deriued lan-
guages by composition and meere inuention.

Now,

Now, as we see the simple and vncorrupt Hebrue Tongue was the originall, to other Languages, and singularly to the Phœnician, Chaldean, & Assyrian, (these two only differing in that the Assyrian had the purer dialect and tellish of the Hebrue) so euerie Monarchie haue arrogated the deriuation and composition of the Tongues subiected vnto them. Hereof it comes, that the foure Monarchiall tongues are accompted originals, by vsurpatio, and not of proprietie: namely, the Chaldean or Assyrian, which in the first Monarchie was famous, & to particular States subiected gaue words and manners of speech: Howbeit, the Armenian, and Arabian languages held their own though in some wordes and phrases they might be by commerce cōfounded, as we see other neighbour Countries through the world borrowe and search from others to appropriate their tongues. So was it of the second Monarchie, the Persian, when not onely the Chaldean becāe corrupted, but that Language also was driuen to search after the phrases and words of the Persian, till the third Monarchie came vp by *Alexander*, namely; the Grecian: the singularitie of which tongue for proprietie of words hath deriued it selfe into the veines of all Ciuil Countries, but singularly of States tributary; making the fourth Monarchie glorious, namely the Romaine. And for this Monarchie stretched it selfe far and neere, we see the generall esteeme of the Latine tongue, through *Europe*; giuing as it were deriuation; vnto the Italian and Spanish tongues, with many proper and apt words: making also *France*, *Germanie*, *England* and other Iles & Couñtries fertile by the proper idiom of that tong, as tributary States to the same. especially wher Colonies or gouernmētts were establishd. Hereof it comes to passe

The Hebrue
tongue the
Phœnician, or
Sarmatian
Character.

Vnder the
second.

Vnder the
third.

Vnder the
fourth.

The deriuation
and Cōposition
of English
tongue.

pasſe that our English tongue hath a ſmacke of the Britaniſh (which is a deriuatiue from the Grecian or Natolian tongue) of the Latine, of the Scottiſh, and Pictiſh, of the Daniſh, Gothiſh, Vandalish and Norwegian, of the Norman and French tongues; and alſo of the Flemiſh and Walloniſh: which though not by conqueſt, yet ſince the reigne of *Henrie* the firſt, by permiſſiō haue inhabited this Land whereof our tongue reliſheth alſo: as in theſe dayes (through commerce and affaires) of the Italian and Spaniſh and Iriſh tongues, howbeit we hold that the Britiſh tongue is one of the Eleuen mother tongues in *Europe*. In like ſort ſtāds the French tongue, the Italian, Spaniſh, Scottiſh, and Dutch (though of others the moſt pure) being ſallars and good gallimaufries of others tongues according either as they haue beene conquered and gouerned by ſtrangers, or thorow comēmerce ſtand in neede of one anothers wordes and phraſes.

The reaſon why
one tongue is
eſteemed aboue
another.

Wherof it may be concluded, that euerie language in his owne Countrey is moſt honorable, and equally ancient, though it be a deriuatiue, *quoad tempus*, but not *quoad perfectionem*. Neuertheleſſe, wee ſee ſome Languages more general then other, & more eſteemed here in *Europe*, and that for two cauſes. One through ſituatiō of the Countrey, which maketh other neighbour Nations of neceſſitie acquaint themſelues with one anothers Language (the which chanceth to few Ilands) that they may trafficke and haue commerce. Hence the French, the high Duch, and the Sclavonian tongues are generall tongues, paſſing through many kingdomes and States. The like may alſo bee alleaged for ſome other States within the Continent that haue been at any
time

time great, and enforced others to seeke to them. The other cause is thorow the perfection of the tongue, as of copiousnes & learning cōtained therin, the which also make the same generally to bee regarded for necessitie of knowledge, or for perfecting their owne barbarisme. Hence the Greeke and Latine tongues are so generally taught and learned, thorow the greatest parts of the whole world: the words and phrases whereof are so well knowen, that the Princes of *Europe* negotiate and contract in writing in the Latine, as the Turke with Christian Princes in the Greeke, as also for that princes Soueraigne will not yeeld at this day the honour to other Kings than to those that are indifferent, and cannot bee challenged of any people. And hence haue the French and Italians gotten the starte of vs, in that their tongue was sooner refined, and cast into bookes of many arts and histories and points of knowledge: though at this day the English tongue draweth neere to the glory of the best of them. Lastly, hence it commeth, that the yong Gentlemen of *England* affect so much the Italian tongue; For that containeth spirit of inuention, good phrase, vtterance, and delightfull matter to their appetites.

Why men treat
in the Latine
tongue for the
most part.

The cause why
we esteem the
Italian tongue
so much.

But to returne to our point, let Trauailers (hauing made obseruance of these things, concerning the state of the tongue of that countrey wherein they trauaile) moreouer take paines in the speaking, according to the naturall accent and tunc of the countrey. And as, by much reading and labour, a man shall attaine to the vnderstanding, and consequently, by a diligent obseruation, to the writing; so by conse-

What the
speaking of
a tongue is.

What the writing of a tongue is.

rence and much parley the speaking of the tongue will be soone attained vnto. And in speaking of the Tongues, euery Countreys accent, time and tune is best without affectation: Hence wee see those that speake the high Dutch, do strue to vtter their words highly, and with spirit, not hudling as the *French*, but distinctly, as the Italian & Spaniard, yet not with that chaunting manner. Likewise in speaking the Latine there is a more ciuill elocution and cariage of the mouth, than in speaking the high Dutch, or Sclauonish, & with greater temperance, yet with some affectation like the Italian & Spaniard: euen so in writing elegantly, euery tongue in effect hauing peculiar Characters, men must follow the most esteemed fashion both in framing the letters & sentences, according to the Orthography of the country. I meane, hauing occasion to write letters, les such vse that kind of hand most common and commendable, and those phrases which in letters almost euery nation hath peculiar, as in sub. and superscriptiōs. For, the least error in these, may either offer wrong to the party written vnto, or discouer weaknes & imperfectiō reproveable in Trauailers. Lastly, as the vnderstanding of a tongue is gottē by good Authors, principles, & common conference with men: so to speake the tongue well it behoueth a Trauailer to frequēt those places & persons, where & amongst whō the tongue best flourisheth. And as the Court & Citie excel in the dialect, and fine phrase; so the Countrey phrase & words are of no lesse esteeme and regard: in so much as no man can be accounted worthily excellent in any tongue, that wants discretion to speake Court-like and Country-like, when, and where it is requisite. Moreover, considering the manifold

nifold Countries that Trauailers may come into, it may be demanded here (although we haue long plodded vpō the tongue already) whether euery tongue be of equal importāce, to be perfectly vnderstood & spoken of these Trauailers? For answer whereof, I presup-

Whether euery tongue be of equal importance for tra-uailers.

pose two rules: first, it is impossible for any man to be an obseruer of things required in these Trauailers, & an excellent linguist in al tongues, considering the infinite time such an one must spend in the gaining of the. Secondly, there is no such necessity for a Trauailer to learn them all; wherefore let him busie himselfe

about such only as may stand his State & Country in best auaille, if so be he shal happily come to preferment.

Those tongues are best, that profit most.

This resteth in the iudgemēt of Trauailers chiefly, To make election: for somtimes the state of things alter, that necessitate a State to haue in recōmendation the general speakers of such and such tongues. But for this Couñtry, no one rule of certainty can perpetually hold to all men, considering many Trauailers prescribe vnto the diuers ends: as some the knowledge only of the tongues; others trauaile for knowledge contēplatiue, to whō the Hebrue, Greek, Latine, Chaldie, & Syriack tongues are most precious, wherein all ancient monuments of things past to bee knowen, are treasured vp; which rauish more the mind, then the knowledge of things present, by how much they prognosticate future euent. But for these honourable Trauailers (in regard of their pretence) the Latine, the French, and the Spanish tongues are most necessary, and like to hold. So the alteration of things causeth a necessity for a season to trauaile in the Italian, as at this time the Germane and the Lowe Countrey language, that of Denmarke, Muscouie, and such like confrontire

Tongues most needfull for this State.

tongues: The which let Trauailers busie themselves about, more then other tongues, that for illustration and contemplatiue knowledge, and learning, are to bee respected, whensoever it is requisite. Let these things suffice for the first point to bee respected of Trauailers Voluntary.

The nature of
the people; the
second point.

Five discou-
ers of the na-
ture of people.

The first disco-
uerer of the
peoples nature.

Two causes of
ciuility or bar-
barousnesse.

2 The second is the nature of the people of that Nation, in which they trauaile; which is the generall inclination, sway, maners, and fashion of the in euery common motion, or action, whereby may be discovered imperfection in things euil, or apprehension of that which is good: by the ensample whereof other Nations may generally reforme things amisse, and establish their policie, euen as Trauailers in particular may fashion themselves for all seasons, places and persons to be compleat, in ciuill conuersation in the iudgement of the world. Now that Trauailers may discover this amongst the people of a Nation or State, let them consider five things: First, whether the people bee ciuill or barbarous. Secondly, whether they be free or seruile. Thirdly, whether religious or profane. Fourthly, whether warlike or effeminate. And fifthly, of what condition of bodie, and disposition of mind. These containe the maners, nature, and inclination of all people in a generalitie; of which we will discourse in order. And first, therefore, let Trauailers consider, whether the people in generall be ciuill or barbarous; and that whether by discipline (the best Ciuillian Master) or by naturall temperature of bodies. Such are the Grecians, and those of the Isles of *Iapan* and *Chios*: as on the contrary side, the people of *Africa*, *America*, *Magellanica*, and those of

of Northeast *Europe* and *Asia*, by nature barbarists. The vse of of which obseruation, for the Commonweale, may appeare by these two rules; First that ciuill nations, gouerned by lawes diuine and humane written, may either be feared for enemies, or trusted for friends in case they be neighbours, and of the same Religion and of good abilitie. Secondly, that barbarous people are neuer good faithfull friends, but for their profit, being euer wauering and treacherous, nor if enemies other than mortall; yet if their power be not ouer-great, are easily vanquished.

Rules of policy touching the nature of people.

But the priuate vse that Trauailers must make to themselves hereby, is to chase away such barbarousnesse and rudenesse as possesseth them, to establish a more humane and sociable carriage. For better discouerie of these, let Trauailers marke the gesture, appparell, decencie, conuersation, diet, feeding, giuing of honour, and all other actions of the people of a countrey, one towards another; regarding or contemning all moral vices, with better iudgement than those fantastickes, which bring home with them some apish ceremonies of curtesie, and strange fashions of appparell, but nothing else, to giue them commendations at their returnes. It may not be vnknown moreouer, that there is no nation in the world but may be reduced to ciuilitie, and forced in time to put off barbarousnesse, seeing in all people God hath sown the seedes of that which is good, within the furrowes and fieldes of euery ones heart: which groweth more or lesse according to the pleasure of the seedeman, manifested in the proportioning of nature, whereof euery climate hath a seuerall stroke, as being an instru-

The priuate vse that Trauailers are to make.

Meanes to interpret the nature of people.

The difference of natures.

ment whereby God frameth capabilitie more or lesse to comprehend the same. Hence we see, those that inhabit vnder the intemperate Zones hot or cold be more brutish, simple, and sauage than others between the Tropicks, and in the temperate. So also it is to be vnderstood, that no nation in the world, how Court-like soeuer, but hath the dregs and lees of barbarous inciuility; and that many heathen people, by the light of nature meerly inscribed in their hearts, rest for examples and reproofes to many ciuill nations gouerned by a diuiner knowledge, in points of ciuill actions & conuersation. For prooffe whereof, behold how the English, Scottish, French, Italians, & Spanish, which are the most reformed & courtlike people, are tainted with some blemish of barbarousnesse, the which of other heathen nations they might learne to reforme. And though of all ciuill nations we here may iustly challenge preeminence, yet how barbarous are we in many things? namely, the Commons of this land, in the entertainment of strangers, pursuing them with the vncharitablenesse of hatred and despight, like the Lithuanians, that vse neither faith nor ciuility to them. Neither are we alone: for the Commons of *France* and *Spaine* carie as hard a hand toward strangers; whereas the African heathen Negros, are so charitable to strangers, that nothing shall be denied them, if it rest in their powers to relieue their distresse and wants. In like sort are the people of the East *India*, so respectiue of strangers, that the State deputeth certain persons to supplie them with all things requisite: and in case a stranger chance to die, the merchants of their countrey shall haue deliuered vnto them their goods

No nation but
may be tainted
with barbarous
fashions.

The considera-
tion thereof.

goods. And verely of al reformed States, ther is none, I iudge, more humane toward strangers at this day, than are the Nobilitie of *England*, & of *Polonia*. What vnciuillitie of manners and policie doth the Pope in most of his regiments vse, forbidding marriage to Priests: that which the Ethiopians, vpon the same inconuenience politicke, permitted notwithstanding; rather hazarding the incōuenience of remifnes & couetousnes, than the mischiefe of many more horrible sins. How vnseemly is the custome of the Frenchmen toward their King, and ancients in nobility & yeers? Short of that the Arabians attributed to euery ancient in yeeres. Behold what great respect the Turkes, Tartarians, and Persians giue to their Princes: in which point the French come shortest. All men know how sauage the Italians are toward their wiues by imprisoning, cooping vp, & locking vp al, thorow the heat of their ielous harts, though themselues are the most Libertines thorow the world: And yet the Parthian heathen are so courteous, ciuill & kind to their wiues, as without manifest proofes, they wil not be ouer ielous or suspicious. From whom I suppose the French haue learned not a little renowne in that point, not trauailing to presse down that, which like y^e Palme tree, the more it increaseth. Be not the Dutchmen most slouely and sluttish in their apparell, & feeding? whereas the Africans detest the same, accounting bodily cleanlinesse and honestie a point of dutie. And though the Turkes and Indians, & other Barbarians of *Africk*, and the sauage out-lawes of many nations, eat their meat on the ground, yet are they more neat & cleanly, than those Dutchmen or our Irish. So the barbarousnesse
which

which of all other Nations possesseth those Dutchmen (except the Tartarians or Hell-hounds, which equally account it an honour to be drunke) to eate, to drinke, and become more vnciuill than beasts.

It is not reprehended in the Scythians, that cruell natiō : none daring to drink any wine, but such as the King shall drinke vnto, and giue vnto ; which is commonly to those onely, that in times of warre haue killed most of their enemies, and shed most blood. For amongst them none are reputed valiant, but such as haue caroused the blood of men. Doe not the Egyptians refraine to eate or drinke more than sufficeth nature ? and that for good cause, seeing superfluitie of meate breedeth all diseases, and many incurable. The reparation of which abuse nature teacheth in the Schoole of brute beastes. Hath not that enemy of reason of those Dutchmen and Tartars infected the greater number of our gallants, and those of ciuill nations, since their conuerse in the Lowe Countreys ? In so much that at ordinary assemblies some strue to be first and most drunke : others are compelled to the like, against nature and manners, whereof many bitter incoueniencies haue growen : insomuch as I see not why it should be a lesse matter for any that compels another to drinke against his will, and thereby miscarieth in health, than in forcing any to eate or drinke poyson. And it is knowen, that vnder the raigne of heathen Monarchs it was a law, at feasts not to bee compelled to drinke more than euery man pleased.

The Italian, although in conuersation hee be not offensive, but obedient and humble to his superiour,
to

to his equall obseruant, to his inferior gentill and courteous, amiable to strangers and swimming in complements and louing tearmes, yet the least occasion dissolueth auncient bonds of loue; so vnsteadie and inconstant are they in ciuill offices noe lesse important then the other. As it fareth with those that frequent our Ordinaries, such as be gamesters, the least crossing of whom, though great friends and companions other waies, looseth the simonond of frendship compounded in many places, and many yeares, at an instant. For, such would haue the world know, the ciuilitie that is in them cannot brooke vnciuilitie prosered, without risentiment in the highest nature. And, as in picking of quarrells so in managing them, I thinke no nation hath bene so rude in generall. For, whether cause be proffered or no, or whether it stands men vpon to make iust risentiment and seeke reparation for iniurie, or indignitie, or whether such be in the right or wrong, euerie man according to his fancie proceedeth, or as the state standes humorous. What Goth is he barbarousnesse possesseth the Italians, in the pursuite of their lust? What vnciuilitie and alluringnesse to lust, do their Curtizans in gesture and apparell vse? And, though the Tarnassariās (a people inhabiting the Coast of *Bengala*) neuer marrie women, before some white Christian or Mawhometan haue cropped their Virginities, yet afterwarde doe they carrie themselves so ciuilly that the least inconstancie bringeth death on such; not vnlike to an olde custome that the Nobilitie of *Scotland* vsed in times past to lenie the Virginitie of all such Maides as held of their Mannors: and in case such were married before homage Vir-

gineall done, to their Lords they were subiect to great fines. So by the like barbarous custome the chiefe sacrificing Priest of *Calecut*, before the King would marrie his Ladie, was enioyned to take the Assaie of the Queene, and trie her Virginitie : for which acte the king alwayes rewarded him with an hundred Crownes. Yet wee see how detestable that barbarousnesse is amongst other heathen people, that death is thought to good for any Adulterer, or fornicator, or deflowerer of Virgines. Morcouer, what inconstant luxuriousnesse and superfluitie of vnciuilitie, in fashions and apparell, toucheth the French ; The which, except of vs English, is reprobued of most Nations in the world.

And amongst many barbarousnesse of manners, how strange is that of the French mens dissimulation to their verie friends ? The which is left also hereditarie from the Lumbards to the Italians that haue any education.

I feare me, other Nations trauiailing thither will say that we beginne to smell of that disease. Lastly, what fencerlike and gladiatorious behauiour bemaddeth the Germanes ? What corruption of manners generally reigne in the Italians ? Insomuch that other lesse accort Countries then ours haue this cōmon prouerbe, where of it shall suffice to touch that of the Germanes ;

*Multi Germani rustici
In Italiam proficiscuntur angeli ;
Redeunt diaboli urbani.*

What inconstant countenance, do these Italians saue of ? What arrogancie and insolencie discovereth the Spaniard to his superior and equall ; what insupportable

bleness to his inferior and subiect? What falsehoods may men finde in the Gelderlandes? whereas Turkes being Heathens are keepers of promise. What crueltie and tyrannie do the Spaniards and Irish discover to their enemies? What pride of the French? What pertinacitie generally do Schollers, Courtiers, and Souldiers discover? What inhospitalitie do the Germanes keepe? What anger and hastinesse of the Irish? yea of the poorest kerne.

Thus, by these examples, may a Trauailer suruey the ciuilitie and barbarousnesse of Nations, in euerie vertue active or morall; chiefly in the Court and Citties. For the Countrie people relish of rudenesse euermore; though in some points they may serue for samplers of great ciuilitie, and true carriages, of the which a trauailer must in particular make obseruance. But considering, that which is Ciuilitie in one Nation is vnaccustomed and reiecte in other States, it may be doubted how a Trauailer shall demean himselfe to be compleat, and know which to retaine. The answer is easie: for it is euer presupposed, that it is no breach of office or of ciuilitie being in another Nation to obserue the fashions, guises and customes, of the same, in things indifferent and ceremoniall, although they grate on barbarisme; as superfluitie of complements and words, such as the French and Italians vse, the manner of eating and drinking, whether vpon the ground lying along, as in *Turkie* and *Africke*, or standing: The manner of saluting with the hatte on without bending of the knee, without bowing of the bodie, without imbracing, without profering of the hand, without conioyning, without kissing

The place of
Ciuilitie and
Barbarousnes.

Touching the
varietie of
manners what
trauailers are
to obserue and
follow.

and such like externall customes of indifferencie, becomming well enough the boundes of euerie Countre. For, though it be a rule with vs that those ceremonies, and ciuill vses come neereſt to the point of true cariage, and conſequently moſt commendable, that expreſſe humilitie, and curteſie, and encrease affection of moſt kindneſſe and humanitie (hence comes our ſalutations bareheaded, and hand kiſſing, bowed bodies and knees, embracing, conioyning and ſhaking of the hand, peculiar to great perſonages; hence the Italians and French haue gotten *probatum* of their humilious phraſes and kind complements of kiſſing their hands; the Spaniardes of humbly kiſſing the hands of thoſe they reſpect and conuerſe with, men as women, the Dutch in their carrowſing in like ſort as we uſe, in contracts by impoſition of hands and afterwards by kiſſing them) yet we ſee the nature of the Italians canot brooke kiſſing openly of women, nor the French being long bareheaded; and in like expreſſions other Nations are as precise. Notwithſtanding, in the expreſſions of moral vertues and vices, a Trauailer muſt be ſo curious and graue, that hee not only beware to committe ſinne and do as the people do, but cleaue wholly to the vertue and meane of things, abhorring blaſpheming, ſwearing, rayling, malreporting, and ſuch like vices of the tongue, as of all other actions and customes of wickedneſſe which are euill in their owne nature, without circumſtances. And theſe Trauailers haue prerogative of other Nations to preſcribe againſt many though indifferent and againſt all euill customes, that ſwarue from the rule of Nature & humanitie. Thus hauing long ſtayed vpon this haunt
of

of the first discouerer of the nature of people, the second offereth it self, for the Trauailer to know; Whether the people be *Free* or *Seruite*. For al people considered as Subiects are one of these two. And though by nature largely considered, one man is equally so free as another; none more seruite (for seruitude is politicke) yet we see some people politickly seruite as free, some more, some lesse, according to the alteration of times and things. By the words seruite & free then are meant, not the naturall (since all by nature are seruite to sinne and vnrighteousnesse, and are equally free from miserie and subiection) but the politicall, which maketh some people free, in regard of misery and seruitude, and other seruite to slavery, miserie, and subiection. Now seeing all people of a State are vnder subiection in generalitie, in this place the nature of a people must bee sought out of such as are free from slavery and miserie, and of those that are seruiled vnto them. Of people free in this sense, there be some by prescription enfranchised, the government of whose States by good lawes haue made them free from long miserie or slavery: Such are the Commons and Nobilitie of this land, whose freedome is such, as they enioy their owne things so freely as the Prince. The like may be sayd of the States of *France* and *Germanie*, and of other well ordered Common wealths. Moreouer, such freedome generally reigneth in *France*, as with vs here in *Kent*, that what slaue or bondman shal but land in *France*, is immediatly made free: and whosoever abideth one yeere in *Kent*, shall be euer after enfranchised. Moreouer, there be others free by arrogation, who according to the state of

The second discouerer of the peoples nature.

Freedome or seruitutenesse politicall.

Freedome frō slavery and misery.

By prescription.

By arrogation.

times and things licentiously vse their libertie. Such in times past were the people of *Denmarke*: whose force was their law, in so much that their Prince held his royaltie at their *placitum*. For, if at any time they misliked any of his actions he was instantly deposed, and another set in his place. Such at this day is the freedome of the *Venetians*, that they seeme to beare a hard hand ouer their *Dukes*. And such is the common nature of euery Democracie and Aristocracie. Lastly, there bee some whose policie and state haue continued them in much freedome from miserie and flauerie, as euer struing against seruitude. Such were the *Sclauonians*, the *Switzers*, and the *Lumbards*, the *Neapolitanes*, in the *Romane* gouernement: in so much as these people being euer confederates with that mightie Empire, yet durst they giue succour to the banished from *Rome*. Such were the *Hungarians* against the *Turke*.

By policie.

Such generally are the Nobility of most Christian States, who as Libertines are euer out of tyranny, before the Cōmons. Such are the *Spaniards* that chuse rather to die than to be made slaues. And such is the naturall affect of those that either haue enioyed long freedom, or feelesensibly the hard yoke of bondage. In a word, such are the people of *Ireland*, who not being accustomed to ciuility and obeisance, spurne so much against the same: For, the Nobility spurn against subiection; & the Cōmons follow their Lords & Leaders, thorow want of ciuility & Christian knowledge that keepeth euery man *in officio*. The markes of liberty and freedome of people are riches & ease; both peculiar to the *Grecians* and *English*; the *Germanes* a bound

Ciuilitie the
meanes to o-
bedience.

bound in ease: the Venetians procure their liberty by their riches.

These things concerning the freeness of people. The like in effect be considered of those people which are seruite; namely, whether they be seruiled thorow tyranny & oppression, or thorow depression & keeping vnder violently; both sorts being subjects of misery & calamitie. Of the first sort, we heare of the Tartariās vnder their *Cam*; for the whole State of all they haue standeth at his fancie to dispose of: the word of whose mouth serueth for a sword to reuenge him of rebels, and yet they reioyce thereat; neither dare any man say, This is mine, or anothers: neither can any man dwell other-where than his Lord assigneth him. The *Liouonians* vnder the Duke of *Muscovie* are so seruite, that they dare not but call him *Tzar*, or King; where none other nations doe the same. Moreover, so seruite are the Muscouites, that they call themselues the slaues of the Duke: neither dare they sell any thing, before the Dukes officers haue surueyed the same. Alike seruite are the people of *Lithuania*, in so much as the officers of the Countrey may enter into any mans house, and take their pleasure of any thing; where no farmer dare come in the presence of his Lord, without gifts or bribes. So the Commons of *Swenia* in times past were in great misery vpheld by their Princes and Nobilitie: For, all commodities passed and repassed thorow their fingers. Lastly, such are those people, whose ouer-rulers are Tyrants, as the Turke generally thorow his Dominions; the Pope ouer the Cleargie; and many temporall States. Nowe of the second sort of Seruite, wee find the husbandmen

and

Seruitude, two fold.

1. By oppression.

2. By depression.

and tenants of *Italie*, who liue hardly and poorely to vphold the Gentlemen their Land lords. So liue the Boores vnder the Germane Nobilitie, in greater miserie and subiection, than the poorest person in this land. Such are moreouer the Commons of a Nation where either ciuill warres, or omission of good and holesome lawes reigne. Such of late time were the Boores of the Low Countries, and Pesants of *France*: so finally are al those Commons whose Nobility like *Solons* great flies breake thorow the net of the Lawe, and where the Prince is remisse in gouernment.

The markes of
seruitude.

Now the markes of seruile people are hereby gathered, namely, Pouertie and Want, and excessiue paines-taking and moyling to gaine their liuing. Such were the Irish: such are the Moores.

Rules of policy
touching the
sames

It now remaines to shew what vse a Trauailer shall make hereby. First, by these, the loyaltie and vnteadinesse of Subiects are discovered: then their constancie and reuolting humor vpon occasions professed. And lastly, who are to be trusted for friends, and who feared for enemies: These being instruments for the Politician to plot vpon; and therefore I will be sparing in the discourse.

The third discoverer of the
peoples nature

Religiousnesse
or Profanenesse.

The third thing that discovereth the nature of the people is for our Trauailer to consider, whether the people of a Nation or State bee *Religious*, or *Profane*. These wordes must be restrained; considering Religiousnesse is properly taken for the godly exercise of that profession, without Idolatrie or superstition, the which is true Religion. All other shewes are shadowes irreligious, and not substantiall professions. In like sort may it be said of Profanenesse: which is of those

those people who leauing the pathe of mans dutie toward God wander in the field or wildernesse of error, either through ignorance, presumption, or imperfectiō. Wherefore, that our Trauailer may not bee put to plunge, the words in this place implic a larger vnderstanding. For, by religious people is meant, such as are passing deuoute and zealous in religion, be they Christian, Heathen, or Antichistian. So likewise by prophane people I conceiue Libertines, Atheistes, and politicke religious people, who oppose themselues against the superstitious and deuout practise of godlinesse: as temporizers and epicureall worldlings. In this first sense most Nations in the world at this day are & haue been euer deuoute and religious: some in the truth, as the true people of Israell, and all such Christian people as of the certaintie of the Scriptures and worde of God do serue the Lord as hee commaundeth, reiecting humane traditions and superstitiousnesse, as prophanenesse politique and damnable. Heereupon rose that worthie custome of the Nobilitie of *Poland*, whensoever the Gospell was a reading in their Churches, To draw out their swords, signifying, that they were readie to defend the truth thereof, if any durst oppugne the same.

What is ment
by these words

And hence no doubt at the first sprang our custome heere in *England*, of standing on our teete and rising vp, when the Articles of our faith either are a reading, or during the reading of the Gospell; thereby exprelsing that by this wee will stand and abide against the world and other like ceremonies, which superstitiō I feare hath corrupted. Heereupon, are the Saxons noted to bee verie deuout, but withall opinionatiue.

L

So

Religious in
Idolatrie and
superstition.

So are the Bohemians deuout and zealous withall.

Moreover, some are religious in idolatrie: as were the Egyptians, the Assyrians, Philistines, and those vncircumcised people that worshipped strange GODS. Such are at this day the barbarous people of the East and West *Indies*, that worship the vgly shapes of Diuels, of the Sunne, Moone, Starres, of the Elements & of other Creatures. Others there are deuout in superstition: as the Turkes and Persians, who with much deuotion are trained vp vnder the policie of their Prophets *Mahomet* and *Haby*. Lastly, there are some blinded; wonderfully in Idolatrie & superstition: such are the Popelings and those that goe vnder the name of Catholickes, but abusiuely. The which religious proceeding is so hatefull to those that follow the *Greeke Church*, but singularly to the *Muscovites*, that if any of their Nation bee but reputed to haue spoken with a Latine or Romane, it behooueth him to bee purged, before hee shall bee intertaind and receiued to partake of the Communion: for they accompt such polluted.

The verie like may a Trauailer consider of the people, which be profane: such as the Epicures and Temporizers are that flourish singularly in *Italie*. And according as it hath beene reported of the Normans in times past, that they cared little for any of Gods seruice: So, the Romanes profanenesse, and contempt of vertue euerie Nation is full of. Like as it hath beene spoken of the Cicilians, that they regard no man whilest they themselues are in prosperitie.

Thus a Trauailer may referre vnto his proper head the nature of the people concerning religiousnesse or pro-

profanenesse, the which may in generalitie and in particular stand him in much stead. Moreover, I suppose it also very needfull for a Trauailer, to consider whether the people Religious or Profane so stand, by the omission or want of lawes, or by the seueritie of Lawes or customes. For, though religion cannot be constrained, yet it may bee restrained by ordinances, so as a Trauailer shall hardly discern it. Hence wee see the Nobilitie of *France* passing deuoute of Custome, the *Gascoignes* religious without superstition, our *Commons* in times past verie superstitious; as generally are all that bee newly weaned from poperie. Thus much as concerning the religiousnesse or profanenesse of people. The fourth resteth to be considered: whether the people of a Nation bee *Warlike* or *Effeminate*: Whereof let a Trauailer ground his obseruation vnder these three heads: namely, whether the people be effeminate or warlike through naturall complexion: Hence wee diuine all phlegmatickes and sanguinistes effeminate by nature; as all melancholickes and cholerickes warlike. Secondly, whether the people be effeminate for want of good discipline, as commonly those are where either vices, or great excesse abound; these being great withdrawers of mens courages, weakening and poisoning the powers of soule and body, so as without discipline such men are vnapt for the warres altogether. Lastly, whether the people be warlike through the feare of Tyrannie, or by good discipline. For as discipline maketh some that naturally are cowardes and phlegmatickes good soldiers in time: so want of discipline we see giues the reignes of exces to breed vices & corruptiō of

A consideratiō.

The fourth discoverer of the peoples nature. A triple consideration of warlike or effeminateenes.

hearts, and enfeebling of mindes otherwise of good temper for the warres : such are the sanguinistes. And as the excesse of commodities in a land make men idle, so the barrenesse enforceth others to be industrious, which is one of the best discouersers of a warlike people. Hereof it came to passe, that the Sicilians haue been noted for cowards and effeminate; whereas the inhabitants of the mountaines and *Alpes*, haue euer carried the name of hardie & warlike. The like some haue obserued in the Lowe Countrie people, till discipline and feare of tyrannie procured them some choler. Wee reade of the Lithuanians for want of good discipline to be so effeminate and cowardly, that they neuer goe to the warres willingly: and oftentimes being prest giue great summes of money to be released from the seruice. So in times past (as *Eusebius* reciteth) were the people of *Africke* so effeminate and faincants that the women did euerie thing abroad for marchandize and husbandrie: as it hath been reported of the men of *Holland* that were wont to carrie their fardels on their heads, whereas the women did carrie their burdens vnder their Armes. Yet so warlike were, by the same ground, the Denmarks, that going to the warres the souldiers would neuer abandon their leaders, but die in the field rather then flie so long as their Leaders liued: it being moreouer an infamie reputed for souldiers to die in their beddes, or of other sickeneses then that which commeth by warres. Herby also we finde the valiancie of the Switzers according to their discipline: whereas the Atabians and Asiaticques are tainted with cowardize. The English likewise are feared of all men for their valiancie, euen as the Hungarians are reputed hardie and stoute. In so much

much that they haue beene branded for grayhoundes & wolues in regard of other Nations but Hares and Foxes; Whereas the people of little *Britaine* haue been esteemed timorous, especially where they bee opposed by the Eng ishs in like sort were those of *Picardie*.

Lastly, do not all men see heere in *England*, in *Scotland*, in *France*, in *Italie*, *Spaine*, and *Germanie*, that these things do alter the people from warlikenesse to effeminateenes: and contrariwise good & long discipline are meanes to recouer their ancient glorie? whereby a Trauailer shall not only discover the present estate of things, but be able with the politician to diuine into what chaunces such people may fall.

The fift and last discoverer of the nature now remaineth, for a Trauailer to make obseruation, namely: of what *Condition* of bodie and *Disposition* of minde the people be of.

The fift discoverer of the peoples nature.

As touching the condition of bodie, Three things are to be respected: First, the Stature; whether tall, lowe, or of meane size of person. Secondly, of what complexion: whether faire, browne, blacke, tawnie, fatte, leane, slender, or well limmed; whether deformed or monstrous in nature, hauing more or lesse limmes, then the common sort of people and such like: which for breuitie sake by examples I passe ouer. Thirdly, whether the people bee long or short liued, and whether healthie or sickelie, and whether great feeders and drinkers, or not: The vses whereof being common, I passe them ouer. In like sorte for the inclination and disposition of the peoples mindes, foure things are to be considered. First, whether the people bee giuen to idlenesse or paines

The peoples condition discernable in three things.

1

2

3

The peoples inclination discovered in foure points,

taking; then, to what occupations and trades they are accustomed. Thirdly, whether they bee addicted to letters, or otherwise incurious of learning: Lastly, what vices and vertues the people are most giuen vnto; and that whether by defect or administration of lawes, or by their own temperatures. The least of these are of moment to be vnderstood. For besides the particular profit that euerie Trauailer shal reape thereby, there is a publike and multiplex of stufte for such (if so they happily afterward step to the helm and be called to aide the motion therof) to worke vpon, either to reforme euils in their own Common-weale, or to mooue commotion or pacification twixt forraine Powers and nations. Which, for that these are the materials of politicians, I omit to explaine how and in what sort. And forasmuch as the nature of people in this point may be the better discouered in particular, I propounde foure Censures, which open the verie affects of the heart, vnto such as couet to know in particular the secrets of euerie ones minde, in common actions expressing vertue or vices: They are the exercises, the diet, the apparel, and the conuersation of men: of which, if we may not offend, we will consider a little, how & in what manner they may stand a Trauailer in steade either to establish peace, or to entertaine war, in case of imployment. First then, of exercises some be honorable, others for pastime and recreation. Such as follow the honorable, whether warlike or of learning, discouer good instruments of peace or warre. For, as by the exercises of warre men shew courageous and high mindes, spirited and strong bodies: so by exercising points of learning and knowledge, honest and settled mindes are bewraied; and consequently meete

Foure bewray-
ers of mens
affection to
vice or vertue.

Exercises triple

meete persons, the one for peace the other for warres. Those, that exercise for pastime and delight only, are marked for corrupt, and weake members in a State, either for peace or warre: yet rather affecting peace then warre.

The second Censure is the diet of men. *Diet*, it is Diet triple. either of meate, of drinke, or of sleepe. Those that be Epicures in any of these three, are to be taxed for the most part for slouthfull, vitious and effeminate bodies. Those that be temperate in these three, and accustome their bodies to endure hardnesse, may be obserued for men of action and employment: and as these may prooue good instruments for warre, so the other are scarce good for either.

The apparell reuealeth like affections; which consisteth either in the fashion, or stuffe, or colour. Those that keepe the fashion which is approued in the Court, if they be Courtiers, shew discretion and constancie. Where, on the other side, they bewraie lightnesse and ficklenesse, vnlesse in speciall cases. So doe all those that affect vneaste and vnhandsome fashions. Those moreouer are not euer the wisest that are first in the newe fashion, but such rather that come in the taile; if they doe it in this respect, to see first whether the same bee better and more necessarie then the olde. But seeing fewe Nations in the World be variable in fashions but wee and the French, I will shut vp this point, that there is a meete fashion for Courtiers, for souldiers, and for other people, necessarily distinct. For, the Courtier respecteth comelinesse, the soldier ease and warmth, the rest are variable; according as they stand in yeares, or humors, or necessitie.

As

As concerning the state of apparell: Whosoever weareth not good apparell, being a Courtier, and in Court, becomming this Estate and being young, discouers his discontentment or want of meanes: so they that goe more costly then the guise of the place or their habilitie can beare withall, or not respecting times, places and persons, reuealeth vanitie and hautie Ambition. The like affections are bewraied by the third, to weet the Colour; it being for the most part generally through the world respected for a Concordance according to the fitnesse of yeares, of persons, of times, & places; the which are circumstances reuealing the affections or imperfections of men in the colours of their apparell.

Conuersation.

The last Censurer is the *Conuersation* of men, with the vertuous or vitious; whereby the secret carriages of the minde be discouered. For, as those that keepe euill companie bewray imperfect mindes: so such as conuerse with the vertuous may be obserued for honest and trustie men to be employed in the affaires of their common wealth, either for peace or warre, if other things concurre withall. In which conuersation an eye must be had of such to discerne, what wisdom, valour, temperancie, liberalitie, vprightnesse, couragiousnesse of minde euerie one of the nobler sort in his actions discouers: and contrariwise of the vices and capitall euils that reigne in them. But of these wee haue opened enough: and also concerning the nature of the people: it now remaineth to speake of the thirde point of knowledge about which a Trauailer must busie himselfe, in the *interim* of his Trauaile: namely, in the survey of the Countrey wherein he shall trauaile. But seeing

The third
point of know-
ledge.

The survey of
the Countrey.

seeing the consideration hereof is multiplex, it would be to many very tedious to handle euery species and subdiuision largely. Wherefore we will but make a discouerie, & touch onely the most necessary things to be vnderstood.

Of the Countrey there is a sixefold consideration: as first of the name, to w^eet, wherof the Countries or Cōmon-weales name hath his deriuation; how many sundry names it hath had since the first habitation thereof; and finally how long it hath continued in each name, & what were the causes of alteration. The which things forasmuch as frō records they may be collected, we wil not insift vpon them: adding only by way of implicatiō one vse hereof, That such Cōmon-weales as neuer haue altered their names, will hardly be subdued, or brought vnder the yoke of an absolute Conquerer: whereas those that haue been accustomed to change their names, may easily by Conquerers be perswaded to suffer a change. The second consideration is of the populousnesse or scarcitie of people; the knowledge whereof is so auailable, as a Politician cannot well plot, without good certificate thereof from time to time: for a multitude of people cannot well indure without much trafficke, without many friends; and in case of penurie, death, and want, not well without disorder. Neither are a few people to be feared for great enemies, or to be trusted for constant friends, and such like. Thirdly, of the situation of the Countrey, in regard of the earth and seas, as of the heauens; namely, vnder what Climate it lieth, and what signe doth patronize the same. But these things, being they may be attained vnto by

In sixe points
principally.

1. Name.

2. Populousnes

3. Situation.

4. Quantity.

Antiquarij
villagiorum

Antiquarij
villagiorum

5. Commodities.

Antiquarij
villagiorum

Naturall commodities
four

6. Temperate ayre.

reading & perusing of Mappes and sea Charts, let it be sufficient to vt to haue remembred them. Fourthly, this quantity (which is either of the length, breadth, circuit, or figure of the Countrey) is to bee considered. The which also wee omitte to enlarge by discourse, considering by the rules of Geometrie and Cosmographie, any may easily attaine to the same. Onely let this not bee impertinent to be superadded, how the marches of the countrey (if it be part of the Continent) is confronted with naturall defence or artificiall; how it borders on other Countreys, and what quarter there is kept ordinarily, whereof in the sixt and last generall point of knowledge, namely, in the secrets of the State wee shall haue cause to treat. The fift consideration is to bee made of the commodities to bee found in the Countrey: And the sixt likewise of the discommodities. Of these two last we will dilate a little. First, a Trauailer shall obserue the commodities of a Countrey, either as they stand naturally or artificially.

The naturall commodities are foure: namely, the goodnesse or temperatenesse of the Ayre, the Fruitfulnesse of the soyle, the plenty of *Riuers* and Ports (if the same coast the sea): And lastly, the Springs, Lakes, Baths, Spawes, or Pooles, that haue any singular vertue in them.

Touching the first, let not a Trauailer weigh the goodnesse or temperatenesse of the ayre by his own constitution of body, that peradventure can away well with the same, (as wee see some of our English bodies can away well enough in colde *Mosconia*, others in hot *Morea*) but by the generall well-faring of

of the inhabitants without pestiferous diseases and accidents, that seldome chaunce to that Land and people, but extraordinarily. For, by the secret worke of God, there is no Nation so temperate, but is subiect to corruption of Ayre, when his secret will shall bee displeased therewith, and that by the reuolution of the heauens, and of things ingendred and contained in them.

Touching the second, which is the Fruitfulnesse of ² Fruitfulnesse of the soyle, there is a triple consideration; either of such as mooue and growe vpon the superficies of the Land (as Vegetables, and liuing sensible things) or of such things as are hid in the wombe and veines of the earth; or of the molde it selfe. Touching the first of these, let Trauailers obserue what store there is found of irrational *Animals*, either wilde or domestick, seruing for the vse of man; and especially whether the Countrey doe yeeld a superfluitie; and whereof. As in generalitie, *Africk* yeeldeth the best Mules; *Europe* the best Lions, as *Herodotus* and *Plinie* make report, onely to bee found betweene the riuers *Nessus* and *Achelous*; the one coasting *Abdera*, a Citie of *Thrace*; the other, being a flood of *Epyrus*, separateth *Acarmania* from *Aetolia*. So in particular, wee finde *England* yeeldeth the greatest store of good Sheepe and Wooll; *Musconia* the best Bees, yeelding Honie and Waxe in plentie; and the best Furres. Moreouer, let a Trauailer obserue what store of Vegetables; either of Woods, Trees for fruite, or plants the Countrey yeeldeth. For, euery Countrey hath his feuerall Commodities, and singularitie of them, fitted by the prouidence of God:

as we reade of, in *Asia*, singular Cedars and Pine trees: so wee haue experience, that for Firre trees and ship-masts, *Denmarke* and the New found land is notorius; for Vines, *France*; for Apples and such ordinary fruit *England*; for Orenge, Limons, Pomegranates and such like, *Spaine* and other hot Countries; for oyle and Oliues, *Candia*, &c. As concerning the second, which is of things hid in the veines and wombe of the earth (for what shall we need to enlarge the discourse with the huge woods to be found in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, or with the notorious Vegetables of other Nations) namely, the Mines of mettals and Fossiles whereof there are such fundrie species, as it may seeme impertinent of vs to be further touched, considering so soone as they are discovered, they bee committed to writing. Now the last of those three is the fruitfulnessse of the molde, yeelding vnto the industry of such people as Till and manure the same, abundance of all things: the which also we wil referre to the artificiall consideration of the Countries commodities.

3. Plenty of
Riuers,

The third naturall commodities of a country are the plentie of Riuers and Ports: where of these things fall to the obseruation of a Trauailer; From whence they haue their springs & thorowfare if they be riuers nauigable, whether they be replenished with fish, of what kindes, and whether potable and commodious for the vse of man, how these doe accommodate the Country; and lastly where they haue bridges, foords, ferries, or may bee waded ouer. But if the Countrey be maretine, and ioyning to the sea, what, and what store of fish the coast aboundeth with; how the sea ebbeth

ebbeth and floweth in euery Port and Creeke, where there is good riding for shippes or boates; what shallowes, sands and flattes; and lastly, what good and dangerous landing; whereof in the secrets and last part of the Trauailers knowledge we shall haue occasion to enlarge. But a Trauailer must be so prudent in searching out these things, that he haue not a malicious or suspicious eye cast on him; for it is one of the conuictors of Spies. Now the last of the naturall commodities, as wee haue sayd, are Springs, Baths, Spawes, Lakes, Pooles, or other things of goodnesse and medicineable vertue and commoditie: the which are to be sought out in seuen things, namely, in their heat, as Baths and Spawes: in their tastes and saours, as *Plinie* reporteth of a certaine Lake amongst the *Troglodites*, which thrise a day and thrise a night, for a season, was euer bitter and salt, and at other times sweete. Thirdly, in their colour, as *Diodorus* reporteth, in *Egypt* there was a Poole, the colour of whose water was vermilion, which being drunke would make men bewray secrets. Fourthly, in their odour or smel, as that fountaine in the Citie *Leuca*, of a most horrible smel, spoken of by *Strabo*. Fifthly, in the motion, at what time they are rising: as that fountaine besides *Hastea* which neuer riseth but early in the morning, at high noone, and at the shutting in of the evening: And if therein any euill thing bee cast that may corrupt the same, *Theodorus Zuingerus* mentioneth, that for certaine dayes after it will not rise at all. Sixtly, in their effects, as that fountaine of *Salmae* in the countrey of *Caria*; which, as *Strabo* writeth, maketh men effeminate & lithers. That of *Aphrodisium* in

4. Springs and Baths.

Pyrrhea, that causeth barrenesse, as *Plinie* noteth, and such like. And lastly, what commoditie either of them yeelde vnto the Countrey, the which chiefly isto be considered, of those nauigable Lakes that lie in the heart of the Land.

Artificiall commodities, two,

Hitherto concerning the naturall: the Artificiall commodities now offer themselues; which a Trauailer shall find chiefly in two things, namely, in *Buildings* or in Trades & Sciēces Mechanick. And though the liberall Arts may seeme to bee of the number, yet properly they are not the commodities of a Land or State. Because by the word Commodities is meant, things that may be transported from State to State, & caried out of one country into another: which the liberall Sciences well cannot saue in bookes: For the operatiō of the liberal Sciēces seem to be Spiritual or Mathematical; whereas that of Mechanical arts sheweth to be corporal. But to our point, of *Buildings* there may be a triple cōsideration: First, what are the most cōmon buildings & houses of the country wherein the common people inhabite, and of what stufte they are made. For almost euery country differ therein. But whersoever great defects are of these, as in *Ireland*, *Musconie* & other places, it is a note of pouerty & barbarousnes. Secondly, what manner of buildings are those of Towns & Cities, & of the nobler sort of people: for these euermore draw nearest to ciuility, and be freest from pouerty. Lastly, what is the Architecture of Forts, Townes, Sconces, Cittadels, Castles, Towers, and of places fortified in the land; about the discovery whereof a trauailer shall finde much vse of his Mathematickes, learned before trauaile. But

I. Buildings triply considered.

before

before wee make discouery of places fortified, let it not bee impertinent to consider seuen points briefly in Cities or Townes: as first of the Quantities, Figures and Circuits as well of the Cities themselves, as of their suburbes. Secondly, of their situation and strength, and how they stand comodated by sea or land, or discomodated. Thirdly, of the manner and matter of their buildings. Fourthly, of their places and things of speciall note, as Gates, Fountaines Bridges, Churches, Streets, Religious houses, palaces Arsenals, Store houses Market places, Rialtos, publike Ambulatories, Schooles, Libraries, Colledges, Vniuersities, and such like. Moreouer, of Vniuersities it must be considered, whether they bee of Physicke, of the Lawe, or of any other speciall studie and profession, or mixt of all liberall Sciences together, what number of Students, what companies of strangers, their orders, priuiledges, and such like: lastly, what famous men in learning flourish in them. Fifthly, the number of the people of the Cities & Townes are to be learned so neere as may be. Sixtly, the policie of them is to be regarded: which resteth eicher in the Ecclesiasticall, Scholasticall, Oeconomical, or politicall gouernment: whereof the politicall is most behooueful, and therefore we will insist only vpon the same; and that in one word to discerne the maner and disposition of the peoples liuing, whether in idlenesse and pleasure, as the Nobilitie of this Land, and of France, or in trades and merchandise, as the Nobility of the *Venetian* and *Genoa* States. Moreouer, with whom they vent that which is superfluous in their Towne, from what other places they ordinarily bring

Seuen obserua-
tions in Cities
and Townes,

bring such things as they want and stand in need of: and whether they be driuen to carie out their owne commodities, or are sought vnto by forreine parts: Let these things suffice, till the gouernement of the State in generall shall offer it selfe to be handled in the fift part, to which we do referre Trauailers that make doubt of any thing considerable in Townes or Cities. The seuenth and last consideration then of Cities is of the priuiledges, immunities, liberties, and freedoms of them: whether Colonies, Municipials, Prefectures, Cities confederate, assemblies, and such like. Now the other part of Artificiall buildings resteth to our Trauailer, namely, of fortifications. Of which, forasmuch as the true suruey of them is in many States very daungerous, we haue obserued, for the better ease and securitie of Trauailers, three safe wayes to prie into the secrets of them if accessse bee inhibited: First, to learne what are fortified holdes within the land, and what front and coast the sea, and where seated. Moreouer, within the land, whether they stand vpon riuers, or waters, or were built for other purposes than for the warres, and naturall defence of the land: whereof in most States there haue been diuers erected, as by the Nobilitie of *England* and *Ireland* for their private vses, and for ciuill warres fortified, & singularly in *France*, where the Noblesses for their priuate safegard, haue many strong holdes: as other Nations that a long season haue either feared enemies, or sought freedome from subiection: Whereof wee haue of late time experience, by the fortifications of the Lowe Countrey people. The second considereth the naturall and artificiall strength of

How the secret
of places forti-
fied may bee
discouered.

A consideratiō
of the naturall
and of the arti-
ficiall strengths
of fortificati-
ons.

of them: The naturall attribute defence vnto a place in regard of situation: which may be considered in hills, rockes, or waters that make the same vnaccessable or defenceable, wherof we haue a wonderful example in the Isle of *Sarke* in our Brutish sea, which is by nature so fortified, as one man may defend the same Isle against the greatest Army that is able to come against it. Of like defence is in some respect the castle of *Garnsey*, & for a land Army the city of *Venice*, and of *Mexico* in West *India*. Moreouer, let it be considered, whether equally in all places as the aforementioned, or but on some sides that defence groweth, as that of *Douer*, castle to the sea-ward, and towards the towne. Likewise what other naturall strengths be within, as plenty of ground to preferue victuall, good springs that cannot be withdrawn or corrupted, & such like, which naturally doe fortifie places greatly in times of besiegings. Now th' artificiall strengths of Forts consisteth in y^e Matter or Forme and figure, whether without or within. Touching the matter & substance of euery particular, let it be questioned whether they be of old or new erectiō: for the olde in times past were made of stone, bricke, or such like hard stuffe, which now in the perfection of artillery are more easie to be battered thā Forts of earth, & are found more hurtful to the friend within, & favorable to the enemy; yet in speciall cases where Artillery cannot come to batter, are notwithstanding momentable: the which if it be well considered, seldom shall men find old fortifications, but they were euen seated so, as Artillery could not play vpon them. In like sort are those new fortifications to be considered, of what matter (for of earth ther is diuers sorts to

N

make

make good fortifications) of what greatnes, largenes, thicknes, depth, and height are the members of them: as wals, vammures, ramparts, curtins, cauallirs, parapets, counterscarfes, mounts, platforms, trenches, ditches, &c. and how replenished with water, what sluices, what Saleis, what *droit* and oblique passages are to the same: the which, discreet questioning, & good iudgement of the eye, shall enforme a Trauailer of. Touching the formes and figures of Forts, that is either regular or irregular. The regular be either *Rotunds*, *Quadrats*, *Pentagonons*, *Hexagonons*, &c. according to the quantity of the Fort, euery part answering in correspondencie. The irregular retain those formes which most naturally may helpe the weaknes of the place, yet answerable one to another, according to the rules of fortifications: wherof we had a notable piece of work for example, in that in *Ostend* in *Flanders*. And for better iudgement herein, let it not be grieuous to any Trauailer, if so he happen into the warres, to obserue the notable means is taken in the field by good Souldiers for the fortifying of their *Campes* daily, after this irregular distribution. Now the last of these 3, that prie into the fortifications of Countries, is to vnderstād what Captains & souldiers ordinarily belong to them; their munitions, their paies, & finally their ordinances & priuiledges. Let these things suffice for the first of the artificial commodities of the Country.

2. Trades, Mechanical sciences sixe,

The second is that of Trades, and Mechanical Sciences; the which are fashioners and finishers of handicraft works made through mans inuention, & are in number sixe, for a Trauailer to consider of; thorow which al commodities passe and repasse, namely, *Husbandry*,

bandry, Clothing, Masonry, Carpentry, Smithery, & Engining: these are generall heads, whereunto all other trades of necessary obseruation may be referred, that accommodate a Land. Let vs take *Husbandry* for an example, vnder which is comprised the sciences of gardening, of planting and grafting, of manuring, of grasing, of breeding and cherishing of Vegetables, Plants, beasts, and such like fostering sciences, for the nourishment of the creatures, but singularly of man: Vpon which also other infinite trades depend, wherof we will omit to speake. But to our point in hand; a Trauailer shal discerne the husbandry of each countrey in three points: first, by obseruing what corne and graine the countrey yeeldeth generally, and that with what paines and meanes the land is tilled and manured, what vsuall increase the land yeeldeth, and such like: whereof there is such difference as is almost incredible, yea, between setting and sowing. Secondly, what cattell are vsuall bred there for the state as well of the Land as of other Countries. As in *Muscovie* and *Poland*, Bees; in the Lowe Countries, Kine; in *England*, Sheepe, and such like. Lastly, what fruits the countrey yeeldeth: as Grapes, Wine, Oile, Apples, Peares, Plummes, Orenge, Limons, Nuts, and such like: and lastly, with what fuell the Land most aboundeth.

Husbandry discouered in three points.

Touching the second Mechanicall trade, namely, *Clothing*, a Trauailer must note what speciall stuffe that Countrey yeeldeth for the same: whether of Leather, Furies, beasts skins, haire, flaxe, wooll, barks of trees, bombasie, silke, gold, silver, or such like: and also how the same is employed, for garimets or otherwise.

Masonrie.

Carpentrie.

Smitherie.

Engining.

So the third, which is *Masonry*, requireth the knowledge of such as are workers of stone, brick, or mortar & their artificiall compositions and symmetries. The fourth, which is *Carpentrie* is displayed in wood Caruers, Joyners, Carpenters, or builders of houses, shipwrights, and in all other dependances. The fift, to wit, *Smitherie*, is as variable as any of the former to bee fought into: whether for varietie of metals to bee wrought vpon, as Gold and Siluer-smithes, Copper-smiths, Brasiers, Tinkers, Pewterers, Founders, blacke and white smithes, & all such like: or for infinite kind of tooles and Vtenfils, for the necessities of man, the which are more excellent in some places than other, euen by so much as the matter and the Arts-men tend to perfection. The sixt and last is *Engining*, which being an extract from the grounds of Mathematicall knowledge, is also much the more to bee considered well of Trauailers, in how much there may arise many singular commodities to ones Countrey, both in times of peace & warre. Wherin let Trauailers make obseruatiō who be the most famous workers, & what admirable things they worke & bring to passe, either by conueyance of water by scrues, by pullies, by weights, by causing vacuums or reinforcing of spirits together in narrowe straights and Cylinders, and by such other draughts of nature, kept secret from the vulgar sort: the which in the warres are so necessary, as in the citie for ciuill and necessarie vses. In somuch as if any man trauiailing shal grow thereby excellent, he is worthy the name of honor & estimation, though in other points he be found a weake obseruer. This thing being of such singular prooffe and vse

euery.

euerie where, may seeme to priuiledge Trauailers about any one point of knowledge besides. About the consideration of which although wee could not dwell too long (for of it selfe it requireth a volume) yet other manifold points vntouched doe craue our discourse now.

Only for discouerie let this be added, that whatsoever by naturall conclusions and (as wee say) by sleight, with small adoe effecteth great things (as to moue bodies contrarie to nature violently, and swiftly; to make powerfull any weake thing, and to discouer things vnto the senses afar off out of their kening, or to penetrate any thing resistable) may be contained vnder the arte or science of Engining. Hitherto concerning the commodities of the Countrie:

The *Discommodities* now may easily be *ex opposito* ^{6. Discommodities.} collected from the former, to enlighten the sixt and last point, concerning the Countrie. Notwithstanding, we wil for better vnderstanding to some as it were make repetition. The discommodities then of Countries are either imperfectious, or wants. The imperfectious naturall, are either intemperatenesse and vnwholesome aire, or extreme barrenesse of the Soile yeelding little or no commodities, or aboundance of cruel beastes: of which our Trauailer must haue a care, to vnderstand whether the same be not for want of good husbandrie in the people of the Countrie. The artificiall discommodities are likewise two, Buildings, and trades. The defect of the one hindereth a Countrie from well peopling, of the other from well and orderly liuing. For it is a *maxime* in policie, that no Countrie can be euer ciuile and orderly where there be not good trades planted for setting

ting the Commons to worke, for the husbanding all such commodities as their Countrie yeelds, and of such as are brought vnto the same frō forrain parts: the which to a Countrie much peopled is most needfull also. Thus much concerning imperfections. The wants are of those things properly, that other Countries abound with: which necessarily ciuill Estates doe want dailey, & must expect them from other places to furnish them. For though there bee many Ilands in the World, that content themselues and liue without the commodities of other places; neither haue they other then a certaine naturall kinde of prouision, distributed well and orderly alike to all Nations for the naturall support thereof: Yet being once brought vnto ciuilitie, and to the taste of the World, either to be equall with others, or to be engreatned; there is no Natiō or Countrie, but standeth in necessarie neede and want of forraine things: the which being once tasted of generally, it is almost impossible to be left and forgotten. The conclusion then of this point, for our Trauailer may be, That he obserue what speciall thing the Countrie standeth in neede of, the which is either of clothing or of victuall: For, these two a Nation that is ciuile and well ordered cannot long want. As concerning clothing let it be sufficient which we haue touched already, in the Commodities: for out of the same may be gathered the discommodities *è conuerso*. In like sort may it be saide for victualls: Only let a Trauailer make obseruation what liuing Creatures hee shall finde that cannot liue or bee found in the Countrie: As our *Theodore Zuingerus* reporteth of *Africk* that neuer Hart or wilde Boare was found there, And *Plinie* mentioneth

neth that in *Arabia* no Swine liueth. So in the *Ilands* of *Nea* there are bred no *Partridges*, nor being thither brought will liue. So some report of *Ireland*, that in it liueth no venomous beast; for the Climate worketh all vpon the people; a strange Constellation, for want of of good Religion.

Let these things suffice touching the 3 generall points of knowledge respecting the Countrey. The fourth now offereth it selte to our consideration: which is of the *Lawes* and *Customes* that be vsed in the Countrey: Concerning

the knowledge whereof may well reforme the weedy affections of Trauailers, and redresse distemperatures growen in their Countrey, and lastly, open the doore of many policies, into which a Politician wil soone enter.

But first concerning the word *Law*, in the intendment there is a double respect to be had thereof. For, all honest lawes haue their deriuation and spring-head from the eternall fountaine of reason of the will of God: in which respect they in substance are all diuine. Notwith-

standing in regard of the diuersitie of people, as of sundrie causes for which they haue beene reuealed and promulgated, they are also humane and multiplex.

Wherefore, in the first respect, the *Law* is an opening of the Diuine and eternall will, whereby GOD teacheth and commaundeth what shall bee done and left vndone, of men, ordained for his owne glorie, chiefly then for the publike & priuate vse of men. Now, since the reuelation of that diuine will of God hath not beene manifested in one and the same manner alwaies to all people, therefore in this respect the lawe is distributed into thre kinds properly: Into the *Law* of GOD, into the *Law* of *NATURE*, and into the

The fourth point of knowledge.

Concerning Lawes.

Lawes diuine and humane.

The Law is triple.

Humane.

1. The law of
God.

Note.

Humane or Lawe of Men. Touching the law of God, wee obserue the same either written or not written. The not written the learned call that which before the fall, and afterwards, was exercised till the Law by *Moses* was deliuered to the people of *Israell* inscribed in Tables of stone, and since of Christ himselfe the Prophets, & Apostles, enlarged, expounded, confirmed, & set forth: the which was either Morall and perpetuall, or Iudicial and politicall. But as concerning the written Law, committed wholly to the *Israelites*, lette it bee obserued first that there were Lawes Morall contained vnder the Decalogue or ten Commandements, perpetuall to all people and Nations: though for a season the Gentiles were gouerned by another consenting Law therewith, namely, the *Law of Nature*. Secondly, that there were Lawes Politicall and Iudiciall peculiar to the Common-weale of *Israell*; and lastly Lawes Ceremoniall, which being meerely politicall also were temporall and to be abrogated by the perfecter, namely, by Christ by whom all the Ceremoniall and infantine Lawes were disannuled and vterly cancelled. Moreover it may not be forgotten, that vnder that vnwritten Law of God is contained the Law of the spirit and of life, which is peculiar to the Church of Christ, that quickeneth the vnsanctified and weake Law of Nature inscribed in the hearts of men, imprinting the will of God in their hearts: whereby men by many degrees steppe forward in the true knowledge of God & seruing of him, at an instant as it were, through the efficacy thereof, more then euer by the Law of nature they are able to do. These things thus briefly expoled vnto Trauailers, let it not seeme tedious to any to consider well

well thereof. For without an exact knowledge of the Law of God, there can be no sound iudgement of the rest. And as our Sauour Christ soundly reprobud *Nicodemus* the Pharisee, for that he was a iudge in *Israel* and knewe not things of such excellencie and of so great importance: so might a Trauailer bee censured for a shallow and ignorant person, that trauiailing into the lawes of Nations and peoples, is neuertheless to be found ignorant in the Lawes of God, & of their deriuations, which properly be the fountaines of all naturall and humane lawes that be good & honest through the world.

Note,

But touching the Law of *Nature*, there is some controuerſie amongst the learned. For the Lawyers define the Law of Nature to be that which teacheth all Animall liuing things. But the Scholist Diuines say the law of Nature, that to be, which is common to all people, and that by instinct not by constitution, restraining the same only to men. Wherefore, to make the same more euident, by fauourable interpretation of both, wee distribute the Lawe of Nature into Common and Proper. The *Common* is that which equally is common to other liuing Creatures aswell as vnto men, that is to say, to defend themselues against violēce, to preferue and maintain their liues and States, to propagate, procreate, nourish & instruct their owne, to eate, drinke, sleepe, rest, mooue and such like things, euerie species according to his being and kinde. The *Proper* is that lawe which is only peculiar vnto men, being the will of God and diuine reason inscribed immediately by God in the hearts of all men; wherby generally they know what is good and euill, and consequently

2. The Law of Nature.

quently what is to be followed and auoyded: the law of conscience, by which the heathen and such as have not the law of God written shall be iudged. The effect of which law is displaied in the knowledge of God and in the worshippe of him; and also in the conseruation of mutuall loue and societie betwixt mankind: From which not only the law of Nations hath a name of substance, but the humane and positiue lawes their descent and speciall deriuation, as from the spring of right and reason.

Moreouer, this law is not equally or so effectually planted in the hearts of all men alike, but in some more plentifully then in others, according to the secret and wonderfull dispensation of the good pleasure of God in the gouernement of the world: From whence there ariseth such strange worshipping of God amongst the Heathen, almost euerie Nation in a variable sorte. Thus wee may see furthermore, that the law of Nature and of Nations strictly and in the proper sense taken may well bee confounded, for one and the same, concerning actions: though after the common sense they are distinguishable. For, the law of Nations is a certaine right and equall reason that naturally bursteth out of men and Nations, for the necessarie vse and conseruation of mankind and for societie, the which is also perpetuall; and arguing the conscience, if it dissent from the same. From whence the Lawes of Armes concerning prisoners taken in the warres; the entertainment of messengers and forraine Ambassadors, as all manner of contractes twixt person and person, State and State, have their authoritie and reason, and doe in speciall manner giue

Lawe of Nations,

giue a name to the law of Nations, to the lawe of Nature: which offereth to our Trauailer these three considerations. First, that in the Courts of Princes as o-
 therwhere hee obserue, what order and manner of A consideration of moment. entertainment and respect is giuen to Ambassadors, and Messengers of forraine States. Secondly, if such an one chance to arriue in the warres of other Princes and States, to note the carriage of one aduersarie to another in matters of right, and of Prisoners and Captiues especially as of Combattes, In a word to get their discipline.

Lastly, to note amongst heathen people, what order in buying, and selling, exchanging, lending, borrowing, mortgaging, pawning and keeping of societie. For, happily from thence hee shall describe a more equall carriage and behauiour in them by the law of Nature only guided, then many of our Ciuile States do by all their meanes of knowledge in the laws of God, of Nature, and of men: the which we might easily prooue. But to our Point now concerning the *Lawes Humane.* Sed hoc non defectu legis, sed sensus.

Those are called the *Lawes Humane*, which frō the capacities of men are conceited & by men are promulgated and authorisid: whether they depend vpon the Law of God and of Nature, or vpon their owne fancies: Wherof, there are two rankes, Honest and Iust, or Tyrannicall and vniust. The honest and iust do flow frō the general springs and *Maximes* of the diuine and naturall law ordained for the publike good of the Church and Cōmō-weale; Whereas the Tyrānicall & vniust, issue out either of the vsurping breasts of vnlawfull authoritie that haue no power to make lawes: or from such as

Note,

hauing power do after their own carnall mindes, make ordinances for their owne proper commoditie and behoofe: whereunto the traditions of men, yea and euery superstitious ordinance and euill custome may be referred. Wherefore whensoever a Trauailer shall looke into the body of the lawes of any Countrey or people, let his iudgement be neither partiall nor weake, but grounded vpon the sound rules and eternall reason of the *diuine* and *Naturall* Law. Moreouer by the word *Lawes humane*, is meant in this place the written positieue and politicall Lawes: For in substance they are all one and conuertible, yea and for the profitie of each Nation commutable, so as they neuer contrarie the lawes diuine or naturall. By reason whereof we finde that some honest lawes in qualitie differ, either in punishing, or rewarding, or in inciting to that which is good, or restraining from that which is euill: the which is meereley a politicall promulgation consonant to some States for a season, and verie needefull in speciall cases.

Neuerthelesse there bee many verie pertinax in this opinion, that Though a State shall inflict for good causes a greater punishment on malefactors for such and such crimes, then the lawes of God or of Nature doo, yet they are ignorāt by what warrāt of like policie, any State may abridge the rigor of the law of God in capitall offenses. For such lawes say they are both iudiciall and eternal, by which policie no doubt States may bee best gouerned: for prooffe whereof the abridgers (say they) of such laws are, by the heathē people that haue not the written law of God, conuincēd & taught how to rule in like cases.

Of

Of humane and positiue lawes there is a variable consideration, according to the vse and titles that euery Countrie and State holdeth peculiarly almost. As generally heere in *England* wee tearme our law by the name of Common law, it being a peculiar law to this State and members. So the Romans in times past called their law the Ciuile law. Though indeed all good lawes (as *Iustinian* himselfe confesseth) may wel enough be tearmed Ciuile lawes; yet for distinction sake, let it bee taken heere whensoever wee shal name Ciuile lawes, for those that were refined by the Emperor *Iustinian*, and set forth by him: the which at this day are vsed in most of the ciuile States and Nations of *Europe*, either in part or altogether. From whence let Trauailers make this obseruation, Whether the lawes of the Countrie wherein they trauaile, be lawes prerogatiue or positiue. For there are some Countries gouerned by lawes meerely prerogatiue: of which wee will first expound, to such as intende for to trauaile.

Lawes positie.
variable.

Lawes preroga
tiue.

These kinde of Lawes be for the most part vnwritten; and therefore require the more care to be searched out and into, for their vncertaintie. Moreouer, let Trauailers obserue how farre the prerogatiue of Princes and States doth stretch ouer their Subiects. For, there are some so absolute and sole tyrannous, that all things are gouerned according to the will of the Prince: and euerie commoditie of the Countrie stands at the Princes pleasure. Such is the Tartarian and great *Cam*. Others there are halfe tyrannous, whose displeasure and will hath no law to curbe the vnrulinesse thereof: such is the *Turke*, the *Muscouian*, and the *Pope*.

Others there are, according as they are, religious and fearers of the true God; and Princes of ciuile and religious States, whose prerogative is much, but yet in ciuile and honest actions: being free themselves from punishment of their lawes in some sorte; and may from time to time dispense with and chaunge their lawes, constituting new as is expedient for the good of the Common-weale.

How to discern
lawes prerogative,

Neuerthelesse, some there are that haue, of these also, greater prerogative then others, according to their government and state of policie. For better discouerie, the law prerogative is to be searched either in the person of the Prince, or in the Magistracie which hath his power from the Prince or State. The Prince (or State if it be an Aristocracie) hath absolute power, & not controulable, to command any thing, action, or person, whatsoever carrieth semblance of good to the State, or that cōtrarieth not the law of God & of Nature. Moreover, to forbid & controule any thing, person, or action whatsoever of like nature, whether by word of mouth, whether by letters, proclamations, edictes or such like means as Princes or States vse. And lastly by cōmission to authorize other to reward and punish, according to the offence done, euery fault that is not encountred by the Law positive already; perseruing the life, members, and speciall liuelyhood of the delinquents.

The prerogative of the Magistracie may be discerned as in our Cōuntry, in the high Court of Parliament, in the authoritie of the Councell, in that of the Starre Chamber, in the Lord Chancellor, Lorde Treasurer, Lord high Countable, Lord Marechall, Lord Admirall: in the principal Secretarie, in the chiefe Iustices

Iustices and Iudges of the Land, in each Maior and Towne Corporate, and lastly in euerie high Commissioner and speciall Officer that the Prince of this Land deputeth to vndergoe any charge at home or abroad. So is it in all other States and Countries. The which being considered by Trauailers, they shal be able to discern the authoritie royall of the Prince and State, as well in Politicall as in Ecclesiasticall giuing & making of Lawes. Touching the lawes Positiue, they bee either Political or Ecclesiasticall. The Political are either ancient & Maximes of perpetuall obseruance, or Modern & mutable. The ancient are such as the Romanes called the Ciuile lawes in speciall; such as the French their law Salique, & such as we the Common law. The Moderne are all those lawes which goe vnder the name of Statutes, Decrees, Ordinances, Edicts and such like, being in all Ciuile States put into print: the which are by so much the easier to bee attained vnto by Trauailers, wherein they may at leasure discouer euerie thing as in a glasse, either concerning the nature of the people, or the State of the Countrie, The Politicall lawes are changeable, according to the standing of things; that the State may grow to perfection. The Ecclesiasticall are traditions lawfull or vnlawfull. The vnlawfull bee such as are contrarie to the lawe of God, and that in no sort tend vnto edification: of which crue a Trauailer shall meete, within most States. But let him bee carefull to collect the best wheresoeuer: the which hee shall discern by their coates; namely, if they crosse not Gods word, or destroy not more then they edifie. The lawfull traditions be rules or Canons of doctrine, of manners, of rites and Ceremonies.

Lawes positiue
Politically.

Ecclesiasticall.

per-

pertaining to godlines, that consent with the holy word of God and tend to edification. Touching the rules of doctrine, the Apostles inspired with the holy Ghost haue left many: the generall and prouinciall Synodes of godly and honest minded men haue set forth others, the which are for the vnderstanding of the holy Scriptures verie profitable. And lastly, euerie lawfull State and Church hath absolute power, without the consent of the Pope or any other forraine approbation, to doe the like; gathering euermore their constitutions & rules from the word of God. Touching those of manners and of Ceremonies, euerie lawfull State and Church hath absolute power to decree that which shall be most agreeable with the nature of the State: yet so as all those Constitutions tend to edification, and bee so neerely drawn from the holy Scriptures and the best discipline of other Churches, as neere may be. These bee the exacte rules for to make discouerie; wherby three commodities shall redound to Trauailers. First, they shall be able to iudge whether the Countries leane by their lawes to this or that religion: Secondly, whether the people be nourished in the right or wrong: and lastly, they may gather thereby the most sincere and vpright orders for the perfecting of their owne Countrie and informing themselves. For when such are well seene into the lawes of other Countries and expert in those of their owne Nation, they haue well purchased a goodly Mannor and trench of Land to build policies vpon. Moreouer, it is verie expedient for Trauailers to marke not only how many distinct kinds of Lawes the Countrie vseth to gouerne their people by; but in speciall, what are generall, what particular lawes pertaining to
seuerall

seuerall diuisions of the Countrey, as those of shires and Seigniories of townes, places and persons, &c. And lastly, if, in regard of the time of trauailing, such be able to take degrees for the approbation of their knowledge in the Vniuersities, no doubt the honour and the commodity will be very great. For, the title of a degree so atchieued, wil celebrate more their worth than any other meanes, by getting credite to their learning and iudgement, and making them capable of preferment, hauing authoritie to be employed in the seruice of the Common-weale. Thus much concerning the lawes: the which a Trauailer may referre vnto three heads, if he please; To Things, to Persons, to Actions. The Customes now follow.

Customes, they are certaine vses of the Prince, State, Customes. or people of the countrie, vnwrittē for the most part, that doe prescribe, or stand in force as lawes, chiefly if they bee good and profitable for the Common-weale; whereof there are three rankes, that Trauailers must consider them in: Generall, Particular, and Regal. By the Generall Customes are meant the ancient vse and ordering of all things according to the ancient nature thereof. Of which let Trauailers first note their alterations. These may be discerned in the giuing of Lawes: in ensample whereof, wee haue, at this day, a more exact and full order of the three states, concerning forme, than in former times. Secondly, in the Princes priuate State and household: Lastly, in Religion, in diet, in apparell, and in the externall order of things and persons. In all which Customes, most Common-weales differ. Whereof we will ensample onely, to our Trauailer, the Princes priuate

Generall,
Particular,
Regal.

estate and household which we cal the Court. Where-
in what ordinary attendants and dependants, and
what ceremonies, orders, and customes are appertain-
ing to the person of the Prince, or to the place it selfe
wheresoeuer the Court shalbe, or to the Nobility, are
the rather to be learned of Trauailers, that they may
not be ignorāt of the proper cariage of euery Court,
to enforme themselues of behauiour. In *Tartarie* this
custome is vsed, that no stranger of what quality or
degree soeuer, dare put himselfe in the Kings pre-
sence, to negotiate with him, before hee hath beene
purged with their fire. Neither is it permitted to any
stranger, to set his foote on the threshold of the
Cams lodging, or where any of his Princes or Lieu-
tenants dwell, on paine of death. And in our ciuill
States we see, no forreiner dare present himselfe to
the presence of the Prince, but by permission, or in
speciall cases, and at special times. Hence moreouer
ariseeth our great respect to our Princes, in honou-
ring and saluting them; whereas the French are little
vncouered, and nothing so respectiue. Some coun-
trei people do kneele in the presence of their Prince,
others gaze in their faces onely: others cast downe
their heads and lookes; and some (as the inhabitants
of *Baccalaos*, or of the new Land fish) haue a custome
when they reuerence their King, in his presence to
rub their noses, and stroking their forehead with their
hand vnto the necke; the which the King accepteth
as an honest and due office and seruice, turning his
head eftsfoones, to his left shoulder, which is a note of
singular fauour, and gratefulnessse of the King to ho-
nour his Subiect. The which customes, or the like,
though

though they be strange and not regular, yet doe they become well enough the bounds of euery nation. In like sort, the customary phrase of writing and speaking, of action, of body, of reuerencing, and such such like, are so to be pondered of Trauailers that they introduce not them into their owne Country, vnlesse those customes be of a more ciuill carriage, then such as their Countrey vseth. For, that is a fowle and irregular trick of common Trauailers, to innouate new fangles of fashions in their Countrey, when they returne, though they iudge the to be of better esteem. This is a common staine, and delight of Ilands. But as it is a shame for ciuill States to be variable in the custome of diuersitie of fashions, wondring at the customes of other lesse ciuill graces and behaviours, so as needes those must bee put in practise by them; so a Trauailer that innouateth forreine peculiar customs of other Courts in his Countrey, where either more ciuill, or as good are vsed, swarueeth from the guise of completeneffe in Trauailers requirable.

The *Particular Customes* concerne the members of the State, as Countreys, Dukedomes, Principalities, Counties, Seigniories, Domaines, Cities, Towns, Corporations, Castles, Cittadels, Fortes, and such like: which require also in regard of their excellencie to bee looked into, so farre forth as by discourse and discrete wayes may bee of Trauailers followed after. The third and last Customes are *Regall*, which properly are the maiesticke prerogative of the Countrey, of the Prince, and Nobilitie, as well within their precinct as in and vnder the iurisdiction of another power. Whereof first let it

Particular Customs.

Regall.

bee regarded, what preeminence the Countrey claimes to haue, in and ouer other Countreys not tributary or subiect to the same. Secondly, as concerning the Prince, let it be noted what titles, of Custome, he is inuested with: as the French King to be the most Christian King, which in those dayes was well arrogated from other nations: As the King of *Spaine* to bee called, the most Catholike King; which title in those dayes was proper to him (I speake as a Romist) for he was *Maximus bellator & professor Romana Catholica ecclesie*: And as our Souereigne King of *Great Britaine*, by like custome now, and with better title, may most rightfully challenge to be the greatest and sincerest Defender of the faith of Christ thorow the world; euen so was it a title in those dayes when it was reassumed and acknowledged of his Ancestor of proper attribution (though the Pope had another flie and slouenly meaning and fetch of policie, in the bequest). For, within a little after, that most vndanted King *Henry* the eight (whom for perpetuall honor sake I thought good to name) by the good pleasure of God, became the onely stout Defender of the faith of Christ singularly, in shaking off the Popes supremacie, and withstanding his displeasure. Whereunto also let a Trauailer learne, what place, of Custome, the Prince hath amongst other Princes: and how farre the souereigntie of Princes stretcheth, and of States. The which souereignty is discernable in foure points: The first is to haue power absolute to giue lawes to al in generall and in particular, without controlment; as Priuiledges, Liberties, Franchisedomes, Honors, and such like regalities to places or persons. The second

note

*Quia scripsit
contra Lutheru.*

The foure
markes of So-
ueriegnitie,

note of Souereigntie is to decree warre or peace, or to enter into treaties concerning them. The third is to institute and ordaine principal officers. The fourth is to haue the last Appeale, which is one of the true markes of Souereigntie, vnder which dependeth the power to grant pardon to the condemned by course of law, in fauour to redresse the rigor of the lawe, and formall proceedings of Magistrates, whether concerning life, goods, honor, banishment or libertie. In all which, Trauailers shal find in most States great defect; in fewe, all absolutely. For concerning the first, what honourable Prince (not naming the Pope, the Turke, the Tartarian, and such like tyrants) of himself, without associates, decreeth lawes? And not without good cause: for it noteth iustice, and desire to gouerne aright, knitting the Subiects to their Prince. Neuerthelesse, we see that in former times the Princes of this Land, and of *France*, as of other States, did constitute of themselues many good lawes in force at this day. So touching the second, there be some States that by custome and willingnes to complease their subiects, will seldome make warre, or entertain peace, without priuate consent of their Councell, or general debating of the Parliament. Likewise of the third there is amongst States and gouernements, a great diuersitie, in the instituting and ratifying of principall officers: which custome hath been brought from the Prince or State no doubt, for the shew of the Common-weales good; so the same be not transported to forraine States, as the Pope arrogateth in Ecclesiasticall promotions. And touching the last point we see also how great Princes are stripped of their Souereignty,

P. 3.

Customes of
the Nobilitie,

reigntie, by the Pope in matters of appeale, of giuing pardons and such like regalities to subiects, and great offenders against their Prince and countrey. Thus in these let Trauailers euerie where make obseruation how of custome either the States doe hold their Souereigntie, or howe by like Custome they haue abridged or lost their marks of absolutenesse. Lastly, let it be considered of the customes and prerogatiues of the Nobilitie of a nation; the chiefe whereof resteth in their superioritie and preheminance in sitting, going, talking, eating, washing, subscribing, arrogating peculiar phrases, and order of stile in writing, and such like. All which are to be considered by times, places, and persons, that thus and by a customarie dutie and respect honour each other. Wherein if Trauailers wilbe verie iudiciall, they had neede to be good heralds and studious in the customarie lawe and discipline of Armes of that nation. Hitherto concerning the lawes and customes of a nation, so briefly as we could, to the vnexpert in the affaires of the countrey. The first point of knowledge now offereth it selfe, which is concerning the gouernment of the countrey.

The first point
of knowledge.
Concerning
the gouernmēt.

5 The *Gouernment* hath a twofold managing thereof: the one exterior and discernable, the other interior, secret and priuate onely, in a wise State, to the Counsel thereof, or onely lodged in the breast of the Prince, which to a wise Prince is a high point of politicke gouernment. Of this interior we will giue Trauailers a secret taste in the last part, namely, in the Secrets. For, the obiekt of a Trauailer is properly the publike and reuealed gouernment. In this Gouernment

uernment three things concurre. First, the persons governing; secondly, the people gouerned; lastly, the common and speciall policie, or instruments, that subsist for the establishing of a cōmon good towards all men; by the vertue wherof, life, health, peace, prosperitie and happinesse without interruption is conueyed vnto the bodie politick: Wheras the defect and vicious ordering of things, soon corrodeeth, or putteth the same into a consumptiō irreuocable. Concerning the persons gouerning, we obiect to Trauailers a triple consideration according to the three-fold diuersitie of Cōmon-weales. For, by the persons gouerning we meane also those simple variable three formes of gouernment, namely, the Monarchial: which is when the Soueraignty and supreme authority, without controlment, resteth in one person or Prince, as in our King of *Great Britaine*. The Aristocraticall is when as the lesser part of the people, or of the Nobilitie haue the Souereigntie in body, giuing lawes to the rest of people in generall and particular, as the Seigniorie of *Venice*, and the State of the vnited Prouinces in the Lowe Countreys. And the Democraticall or popular Estate: which is when as the whole people, or greater part thereof in bodie, hath the Souereigne authoritie. Which had neede to bee well considered of Trauailers, by so much the more as they see great learned men confounded or deceiued in the iudgements of them. For, neither the qualities of persons can change the nature or number of them; nor can there bee any mixt State of forme and continuance, but either by Graunt, Permissi-
on, Communication, Association, or Assignation
 of

Three things
 remarkeable in
 the gouernmēt

1. The persons
 gouerning,

Three formes
 of gouernment,

of the Soueraigne power, to the members subiect. But lest Trauailers might be misseled by the opinions of others, let them obserue diligently, in what persons and in which of these, those toure markes of Soueraigntie (before spoken of in the Customes of the Countrey) doe reigne; which here for breuitie I omit, especially the ordering of officers, the decreeing of peace and warre, and taking of Appeales. But for the publishing of lawes, the most ciuill States for the better securitie of them, and content of the people are euer assisted in Monarchies with the three Estates. And in some States also for the better dispatch of things, many of the other three markes are committed, but yet restrictiuelly, and vnder controulement. Wherefore let Trauailers consider now these things aright, and proue the censures of other men, by those markes of Soueraigntie which inuest the formes with supreme power. Moreouer, in the second place let Trauailers note, what principall officers are in the cominitment ordained to helpe the motion and gouernment of the helme of the State. And lastly, how farre their seuerall offices doe extend. For the better insight into which, there may bee gathered a triple consideration of officers, namely; first, such as stand by ancient right and Custome, as those which we call Officers at the Common Lawe: Secondly, such as haue their authoritie by Commission, and that from the prerogatiues of the Prince or State Soueraigne: Lastly, such as are ordained by the positieue lawes of the land to vndergo any businesse for the good of the Common-weale. Finally, let Trauailers be carefull to obserue the maner and order of making & publishing
of

of lawes there vsed; the course of entertaining warres; the ordinarie policie vsed in time of peace, concerning preparation for warres defensue and offensue; the common course of proceeding in iustice and iudgement, the places, and times, and ministers; the fashion of punishing & rewarding of all sorts of people according to their deserts, and such like appurtenances & appendices of the gouernment. Let these suffice for the persons gouerning.

The *People gouerned*, wee cast into sixe moulds, ^{2. The gouerned.} namely into that of Husbandmen, of Handicrafts men, and Labourers; of Marchants, of the Nobilitie and Gentry, of stipendarie Souldiers, and of Ecclesiasticall persons. As touching the three first of these, the lawes of most States will discouer howe they bee gouerned. But as concerning the Nobilitie and Ecclesiasticall persons, they assume in most States much libertie: Of whome let it be sufficient for our Trauailer to note, how they liue and what they are enclined vnto.

And as concerning Stipendarie Souldiers (if the State afford any) let it be considered, how they are disciplined, and by whom, their number, their priuiledges, and lastly their entertainment.

Now, the last point to be considered in the gouernment concerneth the common and speciall policie or instruments, whereby the gouernors conuey nourishment vnto the gouerned to vphold the comon health of the State, or to plucke the same vpon the knees. ^{3. The policie or Instruments} These speciall policies or instruments may be surueyed of Trauailers in three things.

First, in the goodnesse or illnesse of the Countreys laws, ^{The meanes how to discern the policie.} and

and customes. Secondly, in the accidents that moue the soueraigne Power, for the presēt standing of things, to cōstitute and decree timely, and broche such policies as may encounter cure and remoue any diseafe, surtaite or distemperature growen, or growing in the bodie politick, till by a law those inconueniences may be preuented. The contrarie will chaunce where such defect reigneth. Lastly, in the due execution of such lawes as are enacted and in force: the which vnite or disioyne the bodie, most firmly, or in piecemeales; so as there cannot but arise from the one a sweet and tuneable harmonie of gouernment, and from the other all iarres and discordes: the which shall minister to Trauailers plentie of matter to plot policies vpon. Thus much of the policies.

The sixt point
of knowledge,
concerning
the secrets.

The sixt and last point of knowledge now remaineth: which is of the *Secretes* of the State where men trauaile; The singular point that ennobleth a Trauailer about the home-politician & the foundatiōs of momentall policies.

The Common
secrets of two
sorts.

1. Forraine.

The Secrets are those things which are neither noted nor learned of the vulgar sort of people: they are notwithstanding common and accidentall, the which doe oft change one into another. The *Common Secretes* rest in two points: in the intelligence of such as are forreine friends, newters or enimies to the Countrie wherein one trauaileth: And in the knowledge of the ordinarie strength of the State of the Countrie in which men trauaile. The first of these considereth friends, newters, and enimies: Out of which though there be seuerall secrets to be extracted, yet we will for breuitie giue our Trauailer a release of them in the discoverie of friends; since the

the rest may either *è diuerso* or *conuerso* be displaid. Of friends therefore in this kind, namely political, there is a triple regard. First, by blood and neerenesse of kinne: Secondly, by religion and profession of one and the same faith; Lastly, by meere politicall coniunction of friendship, confederacie, alliance and league, to settle & secure &c. each others State in peace, & safetie. Now, since all these friends in matters of State are euer neerest to themselves, running the straightest course for the good of their owne estates, few can be found so honest & firme as their friendships are neuer disioynable. Howbeit we might see a rare example twixt *France* and *Scotland*, in times past. And though Religion bee the straightest conioyner of States: yet when Ambition or couetousnesse or selfe-loue inuade a body politicke, sildome the friendshippe of such continue longer then they will aide and cherish those greedie appetites; Enuy and feare of ouermuch greatnesse making the one an hypocrite to hunt with the hounde, and runne with the hare, according to the prouerbe. From the politicall cōiunction of friendship, we gather two sorts of friends to euerie State: namely the pleasurable, who for commodities & marchandise are chiefly retained for friends, to enrich their States in times of peace & accommodate them with things needefull mutually. Hence we behold the lawfulnessse of Christian States to traffick with Pagans and Infidels.

A consideration
of friends to an
estate,

Two sorts of
friends politi-
call.

For, contractes of peace and entercourse of commodities may be betweene any Nations, since the partition wall is broken down; it being a rule of charity for one State now to entertain & relieue another, with such commodities as the one either standeth in neede of, or

The strength
of friends.

excelleth the other in : Neuerthelesse, in leagues, alliances and confederacies, for war, it standeth otherwise twixt Christian and Pagan Princes. That other sort of friends are the profitable, who for the politicall defence and offence are collegued and allied or cōfederated with, either to be relieued for iniurie and wrong receiued, or to be defended against oppression and violence, or in policie only for feare of sensiblenesse and feare of the worst. Moreouer, it is not sufficient for a Trauailer to note thus, who be pleasurable & profitable friends to that Countrie wherein he trauaileth, but to weighe also by all meanes the power and strength or weakenesse of those friends, Newters or enimies, to that Countrie. The which may be discovered to our Trauailer in foure points. As first in the populousnesse of them, or defect of people, and in the well disciplining of them, or sufferance to liue *ad libitum*, and without any Martiall gouernment. For, from hence ariseth one maine secret to our Trauailer, That those Couñtries so strengthened may be presumed vpon for great friends : and contrariwise. So the second resteth in the neere neighbourhood or fitnesse of such friends to impeach an enimie.

The third may bee noted in the commodities of those friends to aide and succour that State in cases of necessitie, with victuall, munition, Armes, horses, shipping and money; which are the arteries, veines, sinews and muscles of bodies politicke, in forreine troubles. Of which this secret riseth; That such friendes so well furnished must euermore bee well and euently dealt with : considering they are dangerous enemies or neuters; the rather in regard, before a State can be sensible of their enimitie, they can suddainly offend.

offend. Neuerthelesse, let Trauailers in this point consider what care those States take, to reteine from trafficke, munition offensiue: For it is a weaknesse and danger to tolerate the trafficke of munition offensiue, to friend or neuter, the which in time may beard ones selfe, and speake terror in the eares of the first owners. The fourth and last concerning the strength of friendes remaineth: that Trauailers prie into the reuolution of those States in three things: as, in the Religion of those States; in their Warlikenesse; and in their Freedome. Of these briefly. And first let vs treat of their religion; whether those friends hold the same religiō that the State whereof they are friends doth, or whether of a contrarie profession; the one yeelding euer a more steady loue, than the other. And in case of contrary religion, such friends are soone lost, and soone presse a people to be mortall enemies. From whence flowe infinite secrets of this kinde, familiar to good States-men.

Touching the warlikenesse of friends, that may be considered either in their good discipline at home, or the employment of their people abroad in forraine warres. Out of which let a Trauailer note this secret, that such are strong friends and to bee put in trust: whereas those States that bee so exceedingly desirous of peace, that they neglect the ordinary discipline of warre, are either weake and impotent friends, or vnsteady and wauering. Moreouer, from whence an other maine secret ariseth: that populous and rich States, which chuse rather to yeeld to seruitude, by paying tribute, taxes and other intolerable burdens, then to defend their liberties (vnlesse in special cases)

Religious
friends.

Warlike
friends.

are neither trustie friends, nor great enimies, to bee feared. For, that State which preferreth not his owne libertie, cannot be sensible of anothers, in such sort as is requireable.

Freedom of
friends.

Lastly, concerning the freedom of friends, there is a diuers standing: namely, from miserie, and from subiection. Of freedom from misery we see most States of *Europe* at this day, vnlesse where vsurpers or tyrants rule, and dominiere. Of freedom from subiection there is a proper & improper constitutiō. Those States are properly free, whose policie hangeth not vpon any forrain power, acknowledging no other superiour than God, either in Temporal or Ecclesiasticall matters; nor that are tributary, or homagial to any forreine State. Such at this day is *England*, *Moscow*, *Turkie*, *Persia*, & *Tartaria*, and that of *Prester Iean*, who of the rest vanteth, that his Nation was neuer conquered, or acknowledged any other forreine Prince. Those that improperly are free, are such States as either acknowledge other superiour, or equall Lord or Lords, in Ecclesiasticall or Temporall matters, than God, & their politicall Lord or Lords, or are tributary or homagiall in any respect to forreine powers. Such in the first sence at this day are *France*, *Spaine*, the Empire, *Italy*, *Denmarke*, and all those States that hold of the Pope or Emperour. So, such of the second clause are those States thorow the world, that pay and yeeld a certain tax, homage, or tribute, for acknowledging and respecting their subiection. Hence it may bee inferred, that those friends can doe a State little profit, that are in distresse themselves, as ingaged with intestine, & ciuil distemperatures; or afflicted by an equal

or

or greater enemy, as iealous of some great and imminent danger themselves: or that be not well disciplined, or not at libertie to dispose of themselves without those States to whom they are subiect: or in case any of their possessions bee in question, as belonging to an other equall or greater Power. All which, in a word, may Trauailers cōfirme to themselves, in those States ouer which the Pope hath any stroke; who arrogating a power to disioyne the members from the head, and to set the Subiects against their Prince, can also make debate twixt Prince and Prince, State and State. Thus much of the first poynt of forreine friends, &c. to the Countrey, into which men trauaile:

Now touching the second, which we named, to consist in the knowledge of the ordinarie strength of the State of the Country in which men trauaile, there are 4 things cōsiderable; the *Sufficiēcie* of the people; *Store* of commodities, not only to nourish the people within the land, but to make & procure friendship in speciall cases; plenty of *Munition*, either offensive or defensive; and the fulnesse of *Treasure*, Reuenue, and Domaine. Of these foure we haue handled the three former thorowout our Treatise, sufficiently for a Trauailer. But the fourth, that is to say, the Domaine or Treasure, wee had neede to touch a little. First, let it be considered therefore, that in Monarchies there is a priuate and a publike reuenue and treasure: the publike being dispended for the good of the Commonweale; whereas the priuate patrimonie of Princes are dispendable on their necessities priuate: yet these are oft confounded, But the first that chaunceth to the

2. The State at home discernable in foure points.

1. Sufficiēcie of people.

2. Store of commodities.

3. Munition plenty.

4. The Treasure.

Priuate and publicke.

the consideratiō of Trauailers, is to note what summe those ioyntly or seuerally doe amount vnto. Whereby they shall be able to discern the riches and pauerie of States, *computatis computandis*. This maine secret brocheth three considerations; First, how and on what the summe is gathered: secondly, how that is disposed: thirdly whether there be not alwayes a reseruatiō of treasure, for the suddaine and needfull vse of those States.

Seuen means whereby treasures are gathered.

1. Reuenue.

2. Conquest.

3. Gifts.

4. Tribute.

5. Trafficke.

6. Merchandise

7. Taxations.

Ordinarie and extraordinary.

Touching the first of these, we obserue from politicians seuen wayes that amasse publike treasure and reueneue, honourably. First, by reuenue which wee term here in *Englād* the profits of the Crown-lands, of Wards, Mariages, of Reliefs, of Eschetes, of Fines, of Forfeitures, of Amercemēts, of Iurisdictions ordinary as extraordinarie, and such like. Secondly, by conquest vpo the enemie. Thirdly, by gifts of friends and wel wishers to the State and Crowne. Fourthly by pension and tribute of subiected States and Allies. Fifthly, by trafficke: the which to some States is very gainefull. Sixtly, by Merchandise and trade of strangers or subiects, frō whence ariseth the Impostes & Customs vpon euery commoditie brought in or caried out of States. Lastly, in case of necessity the seuenth may be added: wherof in some driue States there is ordinarie and extraordinarie (as for casuall they be included in the former). The ordinarie are such as we call Subsidies, Lones, Tenths, Fifteenths, stipends, and assessments for Souldiers prest. The extraordinarie, are taxes, tallages, gabels, and beneuolences, either imposed vpon particulars, or in speciall cases vpon the most in generall. Out of all which let Trauailers

trauailers note, what and how much of either and in what order the same are rated, leauied and assembled into the treasure. From whence they may collect this and such like secrets, That vnlawfull and great impositions and taxes in a free State do oft cause a heart-burning of the Commons, and openeth the passage of sedition, vnlesse in especiall cases, in which there ought to bee a publike ouerture for the same as for the expense.

Moreouer, that may not be ouerslipped, Whether the the Princes or States where men trauaile, are enforced vpon important accidentes to take vp money by imprestes and borrowings, or by mortgages or at interest. For, as amongst priuate persons, so in publike States more sodainely there groweth a great defect, and bankruptnesse, which is subiect to daungers.

Now, as touching the maine secret of employing the treasure and reuenewe of the State in the second place wee finde sixe honorable causes to dispend the same (out of which a Trauailer may cull seuerall secrets: as the good and orderly gouernement, or contrariwise, of the Prince or State, his or their vertues or vices &c.) namely Almshouses and publike reliefe and prouision for the poore of the Realme; whereby is discovered a religious and charitable care of such as stand in neede.

6, Causes to exhaust treasures.

1. Almshouses.

Secondly, vpon the honorable and necessarie support of the house-hold and publike Court of the Prince or State: which, being well husbanded, argueth maiestie, bountie and wisdom.

2. Housekeeping.

R

Thirdly,

3. Reparations
and buildings
needfull.

Thirdly, vpon reparations and edifications of fortifications and buildings; of building ships and shipping, and such like publike matters of the State, which deserueth a publike and peculiar regard of subiects & State, and taketh away the hatred of taxes and impositions by rendering the same back againe to the hands of particulars and States good, wherby profit, honour and securitie ariseth.

4. Due pay-
ments.

Fourthly, vpon the due payment of Souldiers and men of Martiall affaires; the which argueth discretion and high care to encounter infinite occasions of euills; both growing in the Commanders as common souldiers, whereof a prying care must be had.

5. Gifts to strā-
gers and offi-
cers.

Fifthly, vpon strangers, as Embassadors and such of forraigne Nobilitie as are therby retained in loue and office to bee tenderers of the honour and weale of those States, of visiting Princes, and also vpon Officers and men of good deserte within the State. Lastly, vpon the policie of the State it self, for retaining of friends or procuring the by donatiues politicke, & lendings: out of which arise many secretes, according to the seuerall motions or actions of a Prince or State in vertuous or vitious dispending the same.

6. Donatiues
politicke.

The last point of this common secreat, is to note what ordinarie and extraordinarie treasure is euermore referued in the State. And as it is a dangerous thing in times of warre and troubles to vndertake businesse vpon borrowings or vsurie, vnlesse in speciall cases; so also it is perillous to assemble a greater treasure, then is meete: for that causeth subiectes oft to murmur if the same come from them, or inuitheth other States

to picke quarrelles to be nibbling therewith. Lastly, whether there be such niggardlinesse of the Prince seeking to spare treasure, as hee diminish much the dignitie of his household and also the Maiestie of his person.

Whereof wee read, that King *Lewis* the Eleuenth of *France* (whome *Philip de Comines* so much extol-
leth) so farre diminished his household as hee forbad his Nobles to followe him in Court (at the least at their owne charges) as that hee was faine to employ his Taylor for his Heralde at Armes, his Barbar for an Ambassadour, and his Physician for Chauncellor. And for his person, hee was so respectlesse, as hee continually ware an olde course cloth Cappe, and leauing a recorde for buying a paire of meane sleeues to an olde plaine doublet of his. And also in his accomptes was obserued to pay xv. pence for so much dripping to greate his bootes. Thus much concerning the common Secrets. *Quare tamen si sit frugalitatis causa, & propter Reip. bonum.*

The *Accidentall* follow; which are such as chance daely in or without a State, and that so diuersely as that we can but giue an assaie or taste of the to Trauailers in this treatise. For, euerie action of the State wherein one trauaileth, or of other forraine States vnfold secretes and are meete materialles to diuine of future things: which now in the *interim* is to be required of Trauailers. Those accidentall secrets are to be sought in three things: namely, in the person; ^{Where those secrets may be discerned.} in the persons gouerned: and in the instrumets. From the persons gouerning I obserue these points; First, what be the negotiations and contractes

Secrets Accidentall,

Where those secrets may be discerned.

1. Negotiations and Contractes

2. Succession
by election and
by inheritance.

the State or Prince offereth and maketh with other States frō time to time: the which although they seeme hard to come by, yet discreet carriage and liberalitie will purchase them. Secondly, what order euerie principallie hath in the succession of their gouernour, whether by election or by inheritance. The first ordaining of a Prince by election was good, to auoyde all such wants and imperfections, as raigne ordinarily in Princes hereditarie: yet such corruption inuadeth this age, that sildome soueraigne Princes will constitute their vicegerent, or elect Prince of an other State, a man popular, or that is wiser then themselues. And sildome wil subiects, that are few in number to make election, elect men of more spirit, wisdom & worthinesse then theselues, vlesse in special cases: wherof the Colledge of the Cardinalls and the Electors of the Emperor find ease and profite. Those Countries that are by succession of inheritance, are likewise of two sorts, generall and speciall. Moreouer, vnder this maine secret, dependeth the insight into the Lawes concerning the disposing of the Crowne; and the Wils, testaments and deuises that are made by Princes, to bequeath the same, so farre forth as they in right may be stretched.

Heires apparant, & infants
of the State.

A due consideration of the
person of the
Prince that
ruleth,

Thirdly, concerning States that go by inheritance, let it be considered who be the next apparant heires to the State, either by the law of the Countrie, or the law of Nature, or other pretences. Vnder which also let it be noted, how, where, and after what order those infants are brought vp, and what hope there is of them. Fourthly, what wisdom and discretion the Prince is of: whether hee be wise enough to discern the aduise of his Councell, subtile enough to perceiue whether his
Councell

Councell plot more for their owne particulars then for the publike good and honour of their Soueraigne: or whether he rule not all things at his wil without consult of his Councell: what spirit he is of, how studious to warre and peace: what care and order the Prince taketh to see good iustice done to euerie one; and so of all other vertues that crowne Princes with honor, and establisth their gouernment: the like arise of the Magistrates. But the contrarie must be gathered from the imperfections & vices of the Prince and Magistrates, *mutatis mutandis*. Lastly, what choise of persons the Prince hath about him for fauourites, and whether hee carrieth an euen hand amongst them: By which secrette the inclination of the PRINCE and his abilitie and weakenesse maye bee concluded.

Concerning the persons gouerned, our assaie resteth in fixe Considerations; First, whether the people bee giuen to much libertie and so suffered to continue, as in the State of *Venice* and through *Italie*: Secondly, howe they stand affected to their Prince and gouernment. Thirdly, whether the Commons suppose not they see much into the gouernment, and think themselves wiser then the Councell of State: the which is dangerous, whether the same be deriued from presumption of Nature, or fro the inspection the people haue into the gouernours cariage conuerting all things to priuate commoditie,

The consideration of the people gouerned in fixe points.

Fourthly, how the people stand affected in rumors of warre, & like accidents. Fifthly, who are the persons in greatest fauor and estimation amongst the people, besides the Prince.

Lastly, whether the Nobilitie contemne not the Commons and Citizens, and whether the Commons hate and enuie not the Nobles in outward shew; the which breedeth a great thirst after alteration, either of religion or of policie: the one springing from zeale, the other from malcontentednesse and factiousnesse.

The instruments
call secrets
observed in
eight points.
1, Dearth.
2, Mortalitie.
3, Losses.

4, Defect of
Iustice.
5, Riot and ex-
penses.
6, Impositions.
7, The good or
euill of the
State.
8, Weakenesse
of the State.

The *Instruments* follow, which likewise be the subjects of many secrets and may be included vnder eight heads; namely, vnder Dearth of the commodities of the land: Secondly, vnder Mortalitie of men, and the heauie hand of God on the people. Thirdly, vnder the Losse of shipping, of Munition and Dominions. Fourthly, vnder the Want of Iustice and good discipline. Fifthly, vnder the extraordinarie cause of Expence, or the lawlesse spending of the treasure. Sixthly, vnder the strange Impositions and exactions on subjects. Seauenthly, vnder the apprehension of that which most impoverisheth or enricheth a State: Lastly, vnder the knowledge of such Weake places vpon the borders & confines and costes of the Countrie, as also within the Land; wherein I would aduise Trauailers to bee verie studious: for so much as this point only is of great moment to bee well sought into. Out of which there arise contrarie secretes, *mutatis mutandis*. Whereof, Trauailers cannot be ignorant, being so common and familiar. Finally, about these or any other, let not Trauailers omitte, to procure with their purse, what by discretion, obseruation, and friends, cannot be attained vnto. Thus much concerning those fixe pointes of generall knowledge, that accomplish the peregrination of men, and make them com-

complete in knowledge of thinges.

It now remaineth to handle briefly, the behauiour of our Trauailer when he shall returne home, to liue afterwards wel cōtented & happily: the which we see fewe do. But afore wee can obserue the offices he must vnder goe, when he commeth home; there are certain points, of him to be performed before, to fit himself against his returne, if so be he expect speciall grace and prefermēt afterwards: which, being an honorable colour & spurres of vertue, may neither bee neglected of Trauailers nor indecided of vs. These rest chiefly in two points. First, in aduertising, frō time to time by Letters during their trauaile, some one of the priuie Councell, and none other of the Countrie to which they belong, of such occurrences and things as chance worthie to be sent and committed to consultation and viewe.

Their discretis
vpon returning

Wherein, let Trauailers bee provident to whom they giue aduertisement: For, otherwise their labour may bee lost, or crost with ingratitude and vnthankfulnessse. Neither, is it necessarie that such a Councillor should take knowledge of them before their Trauaile: for this action will beget acquaintance, and tie that Councillor afterwards to yeelde such an one due respect. Neither is it conuenient for Trauailers to aduertise any other whatsoeuer of those matters they send to a Councillor, nor to aduertise many Councillors of things: the one arguing lightnesse, the other hazardeth the respect of those Councillors: vnlesse it be apparant, that the Trauailer is many wayes tied to those Councillors, in their owne knowledge. Wherein also, hauing occasion to write of diuerse matters, let him diuide those matters amongst them with discretion.

Moreouer

Moreouer, let our Trauailer take heede to aduertise an vntruth for certaintie: but as touching reportes and rumors, let him handle them discretely; and touching diuinings, probabilities and consequences, let the be sparingly or not at all set downe to Councillers: whose wisedome ought to haue the reference and collection of them. But vnto other persons and friends they are sensible and plausible enough. Lastly, in the sending and dispatching of such letters to Councillers, wherein are supposed to be importances, let our Trauailer bee verie circumspect: for it were better for him not to write at all, then by writing either to hazard himselfe or bewraie imperfections. And therefore let him take heede to aduertise any thing that is treasonable, or offensive to the State in which he remaineth: Vnlesse such light

Note.

vpon good and sound Messengers, or vnlesse it concerne the life and safetie of his Prince and Countrey: wherein only hee ought to hazard his life: especially if his Prince haue no Ambassadour in that State at the present.

Hence springeth that second office to bee perfourmed of our Trauailer, That hee make oft repaire to the Ambassadour of his Prince (in case there remaine any there) aduertising him of such importances as shall chaunce vnto him in that Countrey, where hee abideth with the Ambassadour, before hee committe the same in writing to any Counciller at home: For that seemes to derogate from the Ambassador (from whom all importances are expected besides negotiations) and argueth no good carriage of such a Trauailer, vnlesse in speciall cases; namely, where the cause vrgeth haste to giue aduertisement, which by distance from the Ambassador cannot

can not so competently bee dispatched, if the same should be first giuen vnto him; and where the Ambassadour is no friend of that Trauailer. For it is the office of euery Subiect thus trauailing, whether hee goe out of the Land, with his Princes Ambassadour, or be in trauaile before, or trauaile afterwards, to giue attendance on his Princes Ambassador, especially going to the Court. For that is an honour to his Nation and Prince, and a point of ciuilitie belonging to the person of an Ambassador; that equalleth, during his legation, any Subiect in the worlde, if so such an one be resident, or neere his person. Of which humanitie an Ambassadour cannot be vn sensible, no more than the Councillor written vnto, but is tied to haue his discretion and wisedome in recommendation: which oft turneth to the good of Trauailers, when they returne home to their Countrey.

Thus hauing brought home our Trauailer, there rest onely fixe offices to be vndergone of him, whereby he shall reape contentment, honour, and estimation. The first is, that he manifest vnto all men his vn corrupt and vnspotted Religion, and zeale therein; Not onely in the due and orderly going to Church, and seruing of God, but making expresseion therof by the fruits of all vertues, demeanours, and actions, and that singularly in fixe habilities and vertues: namely, Silence; which vseth few words, but fitly, and to purpose. Incuriositie; which banisheth all affectations, and apish trickes, and fashions of other nations, that are not more estimable then those of ones owne Countreys Customs and vses. Spirit; which shall free them from reproche, quarrels, and putting vp of dis-

Sixe points to be perpended of Trauailers being returned.
1. Manifestation of sound Religion.

honourable iniuries; making him equally sensible with the Italianated *Duellist*, but farre more iudiciall to take iust acception, and make risentiment. Prudence, which being a discreet Councillor, shal direct all his words and actions according to reason, and to their proper ends. Bounty, which strippeth him of couetousnesse: which in Trauailers is hateful, and rellisheth of dishonesty. Lastly, Faithfulnesse, and sociablenesse; which shall enable him for all companies, to be both honestly thought of and regarded: the which is free from offering wrong, from Lust and Sensualitie, that dissolue loue and societie. The second office is, that he preferre not policie before honestie, or equall with it, either in matters affecting Honour, Wealth, or Reuenge; whereof the Conscience must be a director and a Counsellor. The third is, that he make himselfe knownen to the Prince and Councell, by commendable means onely, in whose hands rest preferment, and are to be suppoed to esteeme men according to their worth and merit. The fourth is in the choice such an one must make, to procure him an honorable friend, as is able to haue him in recōmendation to his Prince: such an one as is not of a couetous minde; but loueth vertuz, and that hath credence with the Prince, & that is magnanimous, and more feared for his vprightnes, thā hated for his policie according to *Machiavel*. Fiftly, being thus known vnto the Councel, that he couet not special fauor, after the guise of a sycophāt, or after an ambitious maner of any other persons; but that he make shew of a constant and an vnderstanding Gentleman. Moreouer, though it be requisite, to be thus generally knowen of all: yet let such take heede, to intrude

2. Honestie before policie.

3. To be known by vertuous inducours,

4. To be stored of a worthy friend.

5. Constancie without ambition.

trude into the friendship of any, but with great respect, and for good cause: vsing modestie and sparingnesse euermore in reuealing of any thing obserued in trauaile, vnlesse vpon demands, and in vrgent causes; and seldome any thing of a strange and incredible nature, but to familiars, and in priuate. Lastly, in our sixt point, let our Trauailer from time to time procure of other Trauailers, Merchants, and others, such things as they haue obserued (for it is a thing impossible for one man to obserue all things fully in a small time, required in trauailing to be knowen, as we haue considered in the sixe generall points of knowledge) comparing them with his owne; as with such bookes as happily haue discoursed of them. Finally, let him plotto haue dayly intelligence (if so be hee liue from the Court retired) of euery accident forieine and domesticke in the Court, Land, and Citie: by the which the obseruations made in trauaile, shal be kept in continuall tilthe; and being well husbanded, shall occasion, at the least, sweete contentment (the onely pleasure in the world, which no worldling can obtaine) if not aduancement in the State to doe more good than priuate persons in the Church and Common-weale, which is the godly and proper ende of our trauaile and pilgrimage here on earth, that thereby God may be singularly glorified, the Prince serued, the Common-weale and Church benefited, and our selues prepared for a greater happinesse, then can bee represented in any contentment in this life. The which I hartily wish to be respected of all that intend trauaile, and to all, in all perfection.

6, Diligence &
trauailing at
home for ad-
uertisements.

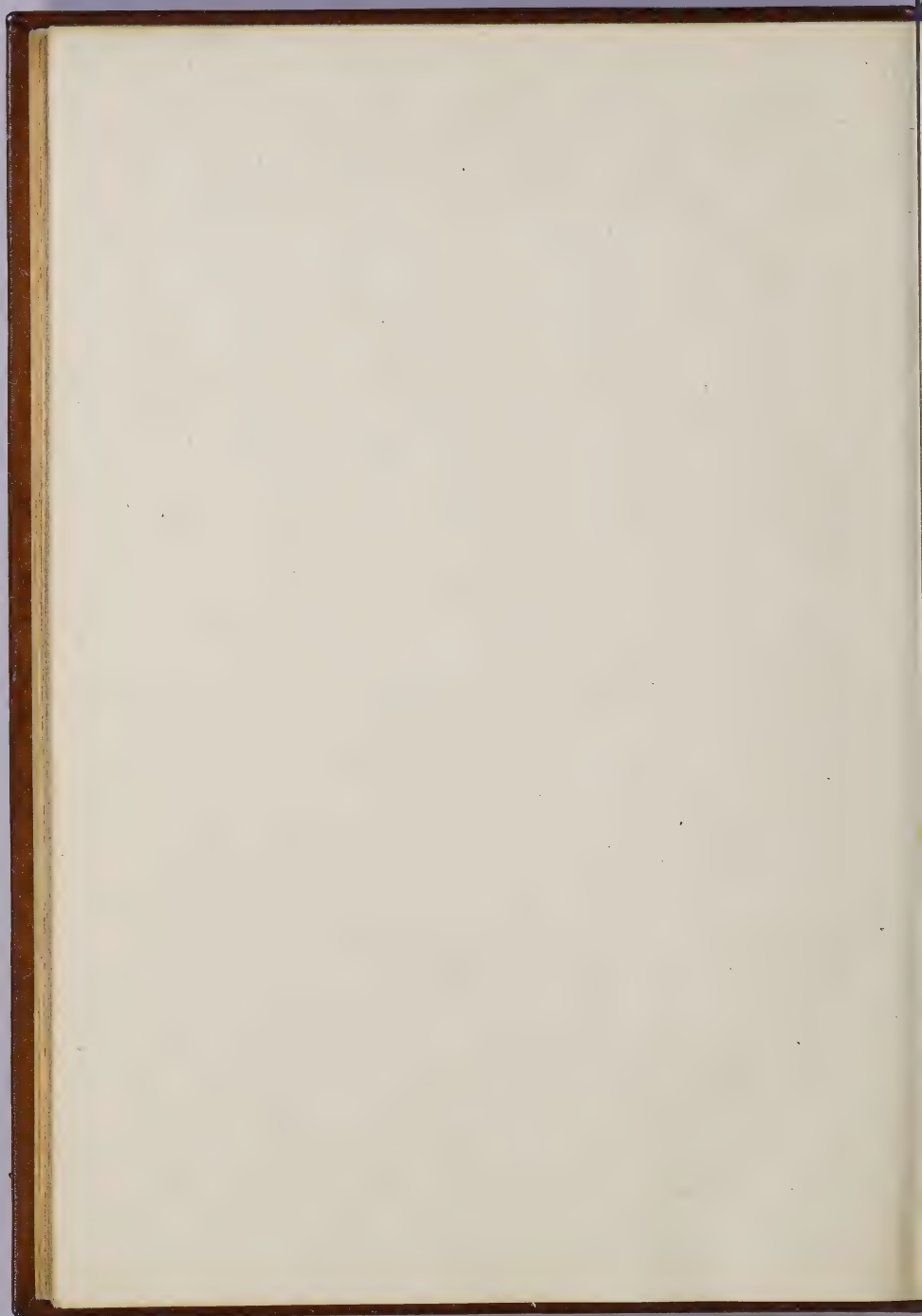
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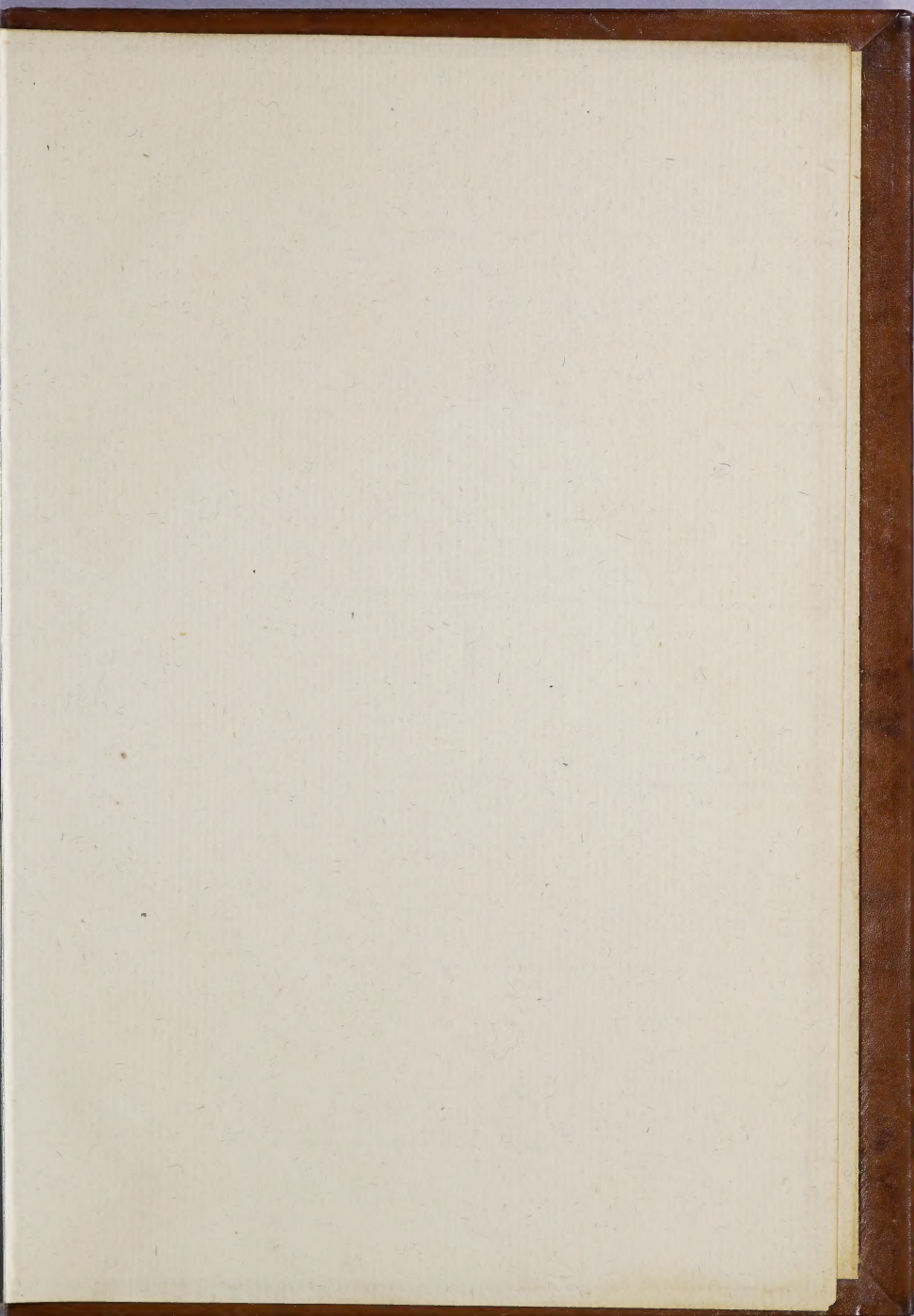
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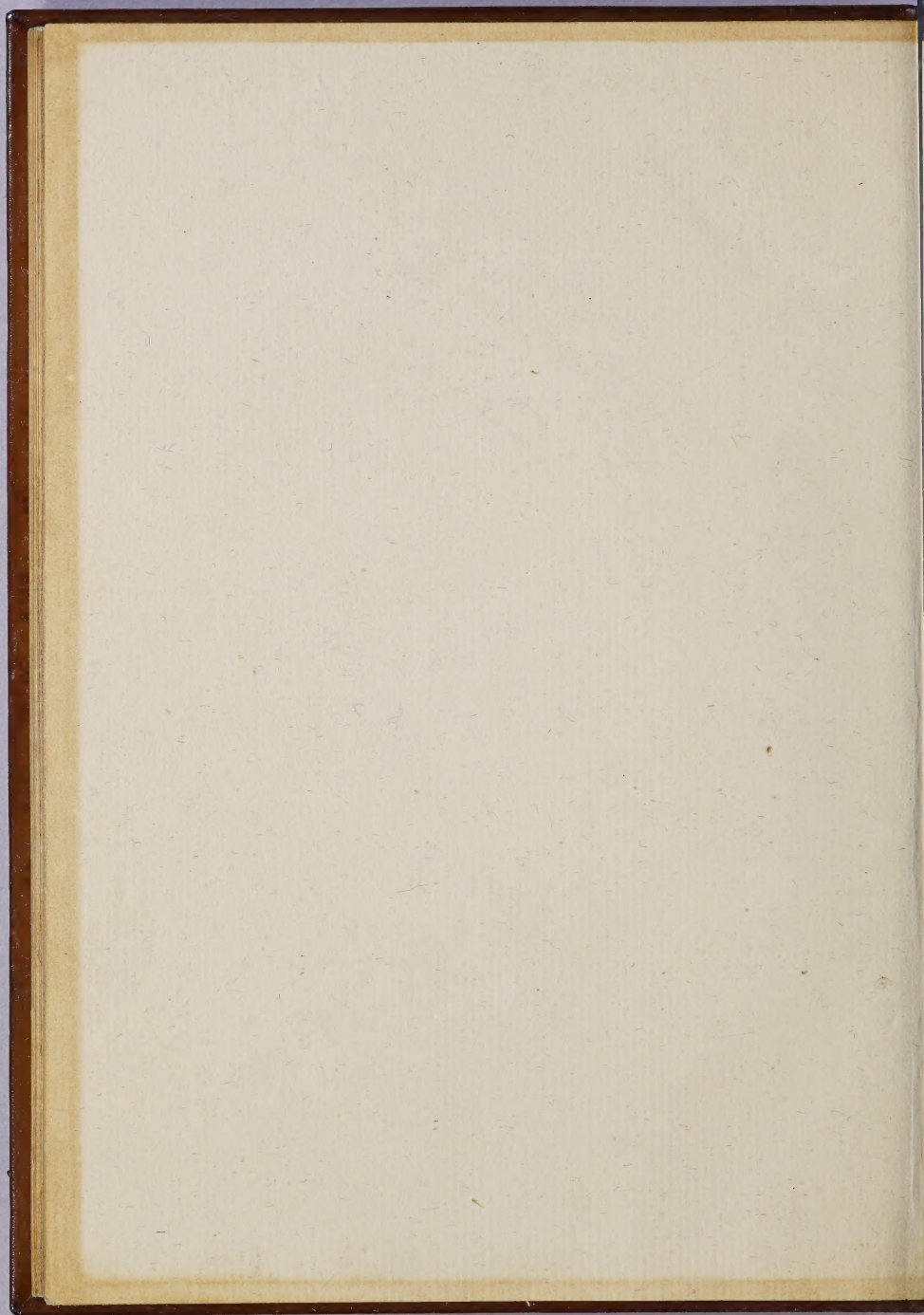
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